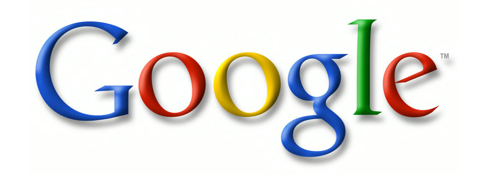

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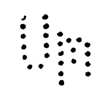

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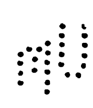

VOL. II. No. 1.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

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Contents.

PAGE

I. A GYPSY CHILD'S CHRISTMAS. By THEODORE WATTS, ... 1

II. A CONTRIBUTION TO ENGLISH GYPSY. By JOHN SAMPSON, ... 2

III. ROMANY SONGS ENGLISHED. By WILLIAM E. A. AXON, ... 5

IV. CALLOT'S "BOHEMIANS." By DAVID MACRITCHIE, 7

V. THE NUTTS AND THEIR LANGUAGE. By SURGEON-MAJOR G. RANKING, ... 17

VI. PERSIAN AND SYRIAN GYPSIES. By FRANCIS HINDES GROOME, ... 21

VII. THE IMMIGRATION OF THE GYPSIES INTO WESTERN EUROPE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—(*Continued*). By PAUL BATAILLARD, 27

VIII. *O DUI TOVARISHA*: A SLOVAK-GYPSY TALE. By PROFESSOR RUDOLF VON SOWA, ... 53

REVIEWS: NOTES AND QUERIES, . . 55

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JOURNAL OF THE

GYPSY LORE

SOCIETY.

VOL. II. JANUARY 1890. No. 1

I.—A GYPSY CHILD'S CHRISTMAS.

DEAR Sinfi rose and danced along "The Dells,"
Drawn by the Christmas chimes, and soon she sate
Where 'neath the snow around the churchyard gate
The ploughmen slept in bramble-banded cells.
The gorgios passed, half fearing Gypsy spells,
While Sinfi, gazing, seemed to meditate;
She laughed for joy, then wept disconsolate:
"De poor dead gorgios cannot hear de bells."[1]

Within the church the clouds of gorgio-breath
Arose, a steam of lazy praise and prayer,
To Him who weaves the loving Christmas-stair
O'er sorrow and sin and wintry deeps of Death;
But where stood He? beside our Sinfi there:
Remembering childish tears in Nazareth?

THEODORE WATTS.

[1] This sonnet was suggested by a beautiful anecdote of the child Lavinia Lee given in Mr. F. H. Groome's fascinating volume, *In Gypsy Tents*.

II.—A CONTRIBUTION TO ENGLISH GYPSY.

THE following list is compiled from a vocabulary, collected by myself, from the Gypsies of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, chiefly in the years 1883 and 1884, and is intended merely as an appendix to the various collections of English Gypsy elsewhere published. The words comprised in the present list may be classed under four heads, viz. :—

(1) Words and compounds not contained in other vocabularies.
(2) Variants of words contained in other vocabularies.
(3) Words contained in other vocabularies, but here used in a different sense.
(4) A few words (*lacho*, *mandar*, etc.) which, though found in another vocabulary, are perhaps worthy of note.

The accent is indicated only when it falls otherwise than upon the first syllable. The Continental value of the vowels is to be observed.[1] The words enclosed in parentheses are either roots or more usual forms or meanings of the same word. The following contractions are used. Borr., Borrow; Croft., H. T. Crofton, in No. 1 of this *Journal*; Harr., Col. Harriot; Ješ., Ješina; Lel., C. G. Leland; Lieb., Liebich; Mik., Miklosich; Pasp., Paspati; S. and C., Smart and Crofton; T. T., Tom Taylor (reprinted in Groome).

Ambrō, s., pear; Mik. *ambro*.
Amósker, prep., among; Pasp. *maskaré*: Lieb. *moschker*. *Amósker sor mendi*, among us all.
Apál, prep., against.
Arí } *Awí* } prep., out, out of (*avrí*).
Bafedo, adj., bad (*Wafedo*).
Bai-engri, s., waistcoat (*bengri*); lit. sleeve-thing, *ut lucus a non lucendo*. Cf. Ješ. *bajengeri*, coat.
Bâlengi, adj., swinish, filthy (*bâlo*).
Balengo, adj., hairy (*baleno*).
Bangyâ, s. pl., whiskers; S. and C. *banga*.
Barengo, adj., of stone (*bar*); *barengo tarn*, stone wall.
Baval kisterin' wardo, balloon; lit. wind-riding-car.
Bengyâ, s. pl., devils (*beng*).
Besh, s., bird's nest (*besh*, to sit).
Bikinaméngri, s., pedlar's licence (*bikin*).
Bīnomus, s., birth (in the sense of origin), (*Bīno*) *O bīnomus Romnichelâ*—The "borning" of the Gypsy people (Sylvester Boswell's rendering).
Bongalo, adj., blackguardly (*bongo*).
Bosh, v., to cough (to bark).
Boshaméngri dōryâ, fiddle-strings.
Brishinaméskri, s., umbrella (*brishno*).
Būtsi-éngi kēr, workhouse.
Chachipen, s., truth (*tachipen*); Pasp. *tchatchipé*.
Charav } *Chaver* } v., to touch (*chalav*
Chēlus, s., time (*chēros*).
Chērusâ, s. pl., times.
Chik, s., savings bank (soil, bank of earth).
Chiv apré, to impose upon. To *chiv hokanos apré tūt*—To tell lies about you.

[1] More exactly—*â* as in bought, *a* as in bat, *ē* as in mate, *e* as in met, *ī* as in meet, *i* as in mit, *ō* as in note, *o* as in not, *ū* as in fool, *u* as in full, *ai* as in bite, *au* as in bout.

Chŏryas, s. pl., plates, dishes (*chŏr*).

Chŏvihâñ, v., to bewitch (*chŏvihâni*, witch).

Datchen, s., father (*dad*). ? From *Dad*, and (Germ. ?) *chen*; cf. Eng. slang *kinchin* (Germ. *kindchen*). Only heard in the phrase: *Mi dīrī datchen*—My dear Father (God).

Delenésko-apré tan, school.

Dikaméngro, s., keeper (*dik*, to look).

Drakyâ, s. pl., currants, raisins; Pasp. *draká*.

Dubelâ, s. voc. case, God! (*Duvel*): Pasp. *Dévla*. Only heard in the song commencing, *Ai dâdi, dâ dubelâ, dâdé!*

Dudéngi kosht, lucifer match; lit. light-stick.

Dūripen, s., distance (*dūr*); Pasp. *Duripé*.

Duvelskano gēro, clergyman; lit. godly man.

Efto, adj., seven. Borr. *eft*; Lel. *hefta*; Pasp. *eftá*. Only heard from one Gypsy.

Estiss, meaning given as "no." ? *N'astis*. *Estiss pal! Kek na lelómas lesti*—? I cannot, brother! I don't take it.

Foshkeno, s. } adj., deceitful (*fosheno*).
Foshkené, pl. }

Gillo, adv., ago (gone).

Haiĕr / *Haiĕwel* { v., To understand; Croft. *Heiävóva*, etc., used in the modern uninflected dialect.

Kova stor mushs sor haiĕrs Romines—These four men all understand Gypsy.

Hocher, v., to talk (*hochav*, says I). I have heard this verb used as an infinitive.

Huféngi gēro, captain (*hufa*, cap).

Hurro, s., sword; S. and C. *haúro*.

Jafri-jafri, such and such (a one) (*jafri*).

Jombári, s. pl., frogs (*jomba*).

Juv, s., licence (*juvé*, lice).

Kabni, adj., enceinte (*kavni*); Pasp. *kabní*.

Kâréskri, s. fem., a wanton (*kâri*, penis). Cf. Pasp. *karkhaní*.

Kavotémengo, adj., of this country. *Nai men kavotémengo Romnichelâ*—We are not Gypsies of this part of the country.

Kekóva mē, v., I will not, I refuse (*kek*, not).

Ketanéndi, adv., together (*ketené*). *Dūi te-ketanéndi*, two together.

Kisterméngri, s., spur (*kister*, to ride).

Klĕémbra, s., table.

Klucheni, s., hedgestake; Croft. *kútcheno*. A test-word with many Gypsies.

Kokero, adj., only (self). *O kokero mush kenâ muklo jido adré o tem*—The only man now left alive in the country.

Kokeros, adj., own. *Mikokeros shareasár*—My proper share.

Kongo, s., monkey. *Kongári*, pl., monkeys. *Kongesto ker*, monkey-house.

Koppári, s. pl., blankets (*koppa*).

Kŏrdum, s., rug, carpet.

Kŏryâ, s. pl., eyebrows, S. and C. *kor* (sing.)

Kosht-chik, sawdust.

Koshtengo, adj., wooden (*koshteno*).

Koshto-wafedo, lit. good-bad, *i.e.* not good, but bad. Used in retort:—"*Dova'skoshto, bor*": "*Awa, bor, koshto-wafedo!*"—"That's good, mate": "Yes, mate, good-bad!" Cf. French, *bon-mauvais*.

Kotoréndrŏs, s. pl., pieces (*koterendi*, in pieces).

Krallisi's shero, postage stamp; lit. queen's-head.

Kuch-bar / *Kuchi-bar* / *Kucheno-bar* } s., diamond. Ješ. *kuč*, costly. Croft. *kútcheno*, noble. Cf. German, *edelstein*; lit. noble-stone.

Kuch-bars, diamonds (suit of cards).

Kūryer, v., to lick (*kosher*).

Lacho, adj. and adv., good, fortunate, well. *Lacho for lati*, well for her. This word is still habitually used by Isaac Herne and the members of his family.

Lajóma, v., I am ashamed (*lajóva*). Cf. Pasp. *kamáma*, etc.

Lajines, adv., bashfully.

Lelómas, v., ? I take. Vide ante *Estiss*.

Lel tīro mūi, to photograph; lit. to take your face.

Lil-kērer, betting-man; lit. book-maker.

Lubenári, s. pl., harlots (*lubniâ*).

Luledo, adj., dumb, dull, stupid; Lel. *lullero*; Pasp. *Lalóro*.

Lundres, s., London (*Lundra*).

Mandar, pro., from me; Borr. *mander*. *Lino mandar*, taken from me.

Merrilyá, s. pl., clothes-pegs.

Mi-duveléss, s., God. ? accus. case (*Mi-duvel*).

Minjári, s. (*Minj*). Perhaps a plural form, but possibly a diminutive: Pasp. *Mindjorí*. Cf. Hubert Smith, *Vastro*; Pasp. *Vastoró*.

Minyá, s. pl., *pudenda mul* (*minj*).

Mĭshipen } s., evil, misfortune: Lieb.
Mĭzhipen } *midschoppen*.

I never met with the original adjective from which this word is apparently formed, *mĭzha dōsta* being used by the same Gypsy to signify "very well" (= *mĭsto dōsta*).

Molewáros, s., lead; Lieb. *molĕwo*, lead; Borr. *mollauvis*, pewter.

Mulipen, s., value (*mul*).

Mulo's *pĭré*, clubs (suit of cards); lit. devil's feet.

Mush adré bĕro, clitoris.

Muskines, adv., manfully (*mushkeno*).

Nashamus, s., race-meeting (*nash*).

Okkikaí } interj., look out; ? look here
Okkikó } (*okki*); Borr. *aukko*, here.

Probable origin of slang warning cry, *Hek-kek!* *Okkikó! Kisi gáji wenna*—Look out! Many strangers are coming.

Pala, s. voc. case, brother! (*pal*); Pasp. *prála*.

Pâniméskro, s., waterworks (*pâni*, water).

Părrengo } adj., silken. { Lieb. *pārēno*.
Părreno } { Ješ. *pcharúno*.

I have almost invariably heard this word used in preference to *kĕshno*. It occurs in a substantival form (*p'har*) in Jacob Bryant's vocabulary (1784).

Pogengo, adj., broken (*pogedo*).

Pōryo, adj., feather (*por*, feather); *poryō wudros*, feather-bed.

Poshéka, s., handkerchief. Harr., *pach nikas*; T. T., *poshnikes*.

Pud, s., breath.

Purridē'ro, adj., ancient (*purridē'r*, older). *Shom mē o purridē'ro Westáros*—I am the ancient Sylvester.

Puv-churies, spades (suit of cards).

Puvengo mas, lean meat.

Puver, v., to turn (horses) into a field. Borr. *puv*.

Raiäkenōnés, adv., grandly, politely (*raiäkeno*).

Rakyá, s. pl., girls (*rakli*).

Ram, adj., rank, unsavoury. *Suméla ram*—It smells rank.

Rizzer, v., to fit. ? Identical with *risser*, to shake. *Rizzeréla man mĭsto*—It fits me well.

Sherni, adj., mad. To *jal sherni*, to go mad.

Simeréskro, s., pawnshop (*simer*).

Sivesto-kova, sewing-machine.

Sōv alé a yōra, to lay an egg.

Spiller, v., to shove. Lieb., *spillâwa*. Vaill., *spildao*.

Spinkári, s. pl., forks (*spinger*).

Stĕtókero, s., a proud, ostentatious fellow. ? A compound of the English word "state" and the Gypsy feminine genitival termination *ókero*, *i.e.* One who lives in state.

Shushiéngi hevyá, rabbit burrows.

Shūner, v., to hear (*shūn*).

Tacheni-ziéngri, adj., true-hearted.

Tacho-bĭeno, adj., innate, inbred. *Tacho-bĭeno adré* every *Romnichel*—Innate in every Gypsy.

Taleni, adj., flannel. Borr. *talleno*, woollen.

Tarderaméngro, s., a skinflint, extortioner, etc. (*tarder*, to drag).

Tarn, s., wall. ? *Tan*. Only heard in the phrase *barengo tarn*, stone wall.

Totro } s., toad. { *Chik totro*, toad.
Totros } { *Pâni totro*, frog.

Tral, s., leave, permission. *Kek nanaí tral*, without leave.

Trashóma, v., I fear (*trashóva*). *Vide ante*, "*Lajóma.*"

Trushul, prep., across, about. Lieb., *trujall*; Pasp., *trushúl*, s., cross. *Trushul* de *pūv*, across the field.

Tuchári, s. pl., breasts (*tuchi*).

Tugnes, adv., sadly (*tugno*).

Tuver, v., to smoke (*tuv*). *Tuvéla*, it is smoky. *Tuvéngri*, s., cigar, cigarette.

Trūpi, s. pl., stays (bodies = bodice).

Valovas, s., bacon (*balovas*).

Wardaméngro, s., watchman (*warder*, to watch).

Wavertémengo, adj., foreign.

Wishtá, s. pl., lips (*wisht*).

Vongo / *Wongo* } adj., lame, crooked (*bongo*).

Vuzen / *Wuzénn* { s., elderwood, used as medicine for horses. } Pasp. *vúzia* reed-cane.

Yog-charöer, poker ; lit. fire-stirrer.

Yog-kekávi, brasier ; lit. fire-kettle.

Yoker, v., to ogle, wink at (*yok*, eye).

Zid, hearts (suit of cards).

JOHN SAMPSON.

III.—ROMANY SONGS ENGLISHED.

THE following translated specimens of Gypsy poetry are from Transylvania, Russia, and Spain, as well as England. The originals of Nos. I. to IV. are given in Dr. Hugo von Meltzl's *Jile Romane*, 1878; Nos. V. to XIX. are in Wlislocki's *Haideblüthen*, 1880; Nos. XX. to XXIII. are in Smith's *Through Romany Songland*, 1889; No. XXIII. is in Borrow's *Romano Lavo-Lil*, with an English version, which the curious may compare with that given here; Nos. XXIV. and XXV. are in Colocci's *Zingari*, 1889. No. XXVI. is not strictly a Gypsy song: it is a translation of a poem by M. Henry Cazalis, *L'Illusion* (Paris, 1885). Of these rough English versions several have already appeared—*i.e.* in the *Manchester Quarterly*, July 1883 (VII., XI., XII., XVIII., XIX.); in Smith's *Through Romany Songland*, 1889 (V. to XVII.); in the *Academy*, 3d August 1889 (XXI., XXII., XXIII.); and in the *Journal of Gypsy Lore*, October 1889 (XXIV.).

TRANSYLVANIAN.

I.

He presses warm my hand,
But if he would embrace,—
This dear man, from a foreign land,—
I then would kiss his face.

II.

Oh, blessings on my mother dear,
That I fair as a rose was born,
The joy and love of every boy,
To every other maid a thorn.

III.

Oh, my God, to still my longing,
Give to me a mantle fine,
Garnished all with buttons bright,
In the golden light to shine.

Grant to me a goodly wife,
In her jacket pure and neat,
With willow-like arms,
And flower-like feet.

Her two shoulders
Like white bread ;
Her eyes in shape
Like seed of grape ;
And her two lips
Like blossoms red.

IV.

Many the stars in heaven that shine,
But none can equal this wife of mine.
She dished up the soup for us to eat,
But cunningly took out all the meat !
Quickly and slyly she played this game,
And ate the meat—to her own shame !

V.

My dear father left this earth
Ere my eyes began to see ;
Long ago my mother died,
And my loved one left me.
Few my joys in life would be
But for my fiddle's company.

VI.

A ribbon bright I'll give
For a kiss from my dearest and best ;
A mantle warm I'll give
Within her arms to rest ;
But should she faithless prove
A rod I'll buy for my love.

VII.

The maiden she wishes for ribbon and rose;
The boy he wishes for bright-chequered hose;
The wife she wishes a baby fine,
But the husband—he wishes for lots of swine!

VIII.

Lord, who has made this earth so fine,
With flowers decked its floor so wide;
Warmed it with the bright sun-rays,
And ordained this Eastern tide;
Lodge with me, now, I pray;
Clean swept my hut to-day,
Clean is the cloth I lay.

IX.

Gaily sing the birds,
The children gaily leap;
We forget the winter's pain
When Whitsuntide we keep.

X.

Lonely sits the bird above,
And I am sad, and pine:
Come, my love, and kiss me now,
And ease all pain of mine.

XI.

When that I was bold and young,
On my arms the fair girls hung;
Now that I am frail and old,
Maidens leave me in the cold.

XII.

I a Gypsy child was born,
Of a mother all forlorn;
In the long grass I was lain,
None baptized me but the rain.

XIII.

Oh thou, my fiddle, art my life!
'Tis thou art my food and my drink;
And when I shall cease to love thee,
My life will be lost, I think.

XIV.

When my heart
Feels sorrow's smart,
When no gold
My purse doth hold,
On my fiddle I play deep,
Until care and hunger sleep.

XV.

In autumn the peasant rejoices,
The hunter keeps watch with his gun,
But the Gypsy laments and is woful,
That the sunshine of summer is done.

XVI.

Though I lived a century, then
Still should I love but young men;
I would not marry one that 's old
Though the man were made of gold.

XVII.

My dear young boy, so fine,
The flowers in thy hat are gay
But in spite of pretty flowers,
Thy wits are flown away.

XVIII.

Since the day that I was born,
Twenty years of life forlorn—
Twenty years of days and morrows—
Few the joys, not few the sorrows.

XIX.

Mother, trouble not thy breast
For the bairns afar that rest;
The great earth rests in God's great hand,
Who over all one heaven has spanned.

SPANISH.

XX.

Sadly sails the moon on nights
When not a shining star is near;
And sadly beats my heart on days
When I can see thee not, my dear.

XXI.

If my little mother dear,
If my little mother sweet,
Saw me passing in my pain,
Tears she 'd rain upon the street.

XXII.

Will you give me those pearly tears
That down your cheeks have rolled?
I will take them to Granada
To be set in rings of gold.

ENGLISH.

XXIII.

Thy white breasts
My pillows shall be
Thy bright eyes
The lamps for me!

Ah! dearest girl,
Do not disdain,
I may not see
Thy face again.

RUSSIAN.

XXIV.

Oh, mother dear, beyond the sky,
Oh, mother dear, to me reply.

SLOVAK.

XXV.

Open the door, mother;
Here 's a daughter for thee:
Here 's a daughter for thee,
And a wife for me!

FRENCH.

XXVI.

'Tis a Romany tale
That, up in the moon,
Each midnight a Gypsy
Is playing a tune.

The melodies sweet
From his fiddle that flow,
Are heard but by lovers
As silent they go.

Then, love, let us try,
While the moonlight is clear,
Amid the dark forest
That fiddle to hear.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

IV.—CALLOT'S "BOHEMIANS."

ONE day, in the spring of 1604, a boy of twelve, named Jacques Callot, ran away from his father's house at Nancy, in the duchy of Lorraine, and set out on foot for Rome. He was almost penniless, though his father was a gentleman-herald at the Duke's court; and the only friend to whom he could now look for assistance was a brother-artist and fellow-countryman, then studying in Rome the art which had drawn young Callot from his home, and had thwarted all the desires of his parents. But the boy was full of courage, and burning with the passion of an artist, and he defied all the difficulties and dangers that might await him in the long road that lay between him and the city of his hopes. On this occasion, however, he did not get as far as Rome; but, after an eventful journey of about two months, he reached the city of Florence. There, postponing for a while the attainment of his first intention, he began in earnest the work which has caused him to be remembered as one of the greatest etchers the world has ever known. It is not with the after career of the great Lorrainese, however, but with this memorable episode in its outset, that we shall here concern ourselves.

His slender purse, or the love of adventure, or an artistic admiration of their picturesque ways, induced the young traveller to attach himself to a band of Gypsies, at an early stage of the journey. These "Bohemians," or "Egyptians" (by both of which names such people were then known in France and Lorraine), were also travelling southward, their destination being Florence. So for six or eight

weeks young Callot was one of the band. A happy accident for posterity! For this boy-artist, remembered afterwards by the faithful representation and minute details of his pictures as much as by their clever grouping and masterly style, had studied his companions' ways so closely, that he was able to produce, many years later, a series of etchings in which this "Egyptian" band is placed before us with the most lifelike effect. Whether he had taken sly sketches of them, on occasion, or whether these scenes were bitten in upon the tablets of a most receptive memory, does not seem to be stated by his biographers. But, although the date of their production is placed eighteen years later, when he was living in his native country,[1] no one can look upon these pictures without feeling that they bear the stamp of reality.

That "innate tendency to raillery," which, along with qualities of a more serious and also of a more agreeable kind, is stated to have formed one of Callot's most striking mental characteristics, shows itself prominently in these engravings; and the legends with which he glossed each of the four scenes of the series evince the same spirit of mockery. But the humour is not ill-natured; it is rather a kind of friendly "chaff," difficult to avoid in one of his satirical turn of mind, especially when dealing with such a subject. To regard Callot's "Bohemians," however, as a series of caricatures would be to make a great mistake. Fun and satire they certainly do contain, but there is also condensed in these pictures almost every aspect of human life. And it would be an injustice to the young artist to suppose that, during his six or eight weeks' sojourn with the Romané, he regarded them with no warmer feelings than those of the satirist. Such an assumption would, indeed, be quite at variance with what we know of his amiable character.

The hopelessness of describing these pictures successfully by means of words is expressed by M. Edouard Meaume after his general account of the scenes portrayed:—"Such are these pictures, whose subjects are so varied that the pen is powerless to give even a faint notion of them. The scenes they represent are so complicated, they are delineated with such a verve, with such an all-observing precision, that they escape analysis, and only leave room for admiration. One never turns from them without regret, and, with each renewed inspection of them, one is ever discovering some fresh detail, some new charm."

Fortunately for the reader who has not hitherto seen "The

[1] *Recherches sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Jacques Callot*, by Edouard Meaume, Paris, 1860, vol. i. part ii. p. 26.

Bohemians" of Callot, he is not now asked to form a conception of their appearance from written description alone, as the four pictures are here represented.[1] But they contain such a wealth of detail, impossible to take in at the first glance, or the second, or the third, that some written reference to these details is perhaps desirable in this place. Moreover, the not wholly unanimous and sometimes erroneous accounts of MM. Meaume and Houssaye[2] show how one may be even well acquainted with the pictures and yet not fully apprehend their meaning. Without claiming to be an infallible interpreter, I shall here furnish some description of these subjects, as they appear to me.

M. Meaume mentions a tradition to the effect that the pictures were originally etched upon a single plate, afterwards divided into four sections, and, although inclined to disbelieve the truth of this, he admits that the idea is not wholly inadmissible. One thing pretty evident is that the first two pictures really represent one scene. If the two be joined, in the natural order, it will be seen that the terrace, or rising-ground, along which the Gypsies are marching corresponds in every line and shadow at the margin of union. Further, that the background, with the town and townspeople so minutely figured in the one half, is prolonged in the other with equal minuteness and consistency. These two sections therefore form only one picture;[3] and, accordingly, there are only three scenes represented by the four engravings. Whether they were once all upon one plate is of little moment.

Although the first two pictures represent but one procession of "Bohemians," we nevertheless cannot assume that this gives an exact representation of the band with which Callot travelled, because it would seem that several of the figures given in the foremost section reappear in the other half of the scene. M. Meaume does not so understand these two views. For his descriptions[4] show that he regards each figure in the two pictures as possessing a distinct individuality. His statement also that the band possessed *eight* horses bears out this idea. Indeed, it is clear from all of his remarks that the idea of any of the figures being used twice over never entered into his head. And yet, curiously enough, he estimated the number of the gang—

[1] I am indebted to the courtesy of the authorities at the British Museum for permission to photograph this series from the copies which are there preserved.

[2] As given in M. Meaume's *Recherches*. Without any desire to accuse these writers of inaccuracy, it has become evident to me that their accounts contain several misapprehensions and errors.

[3] There can be no doubt that Callot himself afterwards divided this into two, as the signature and gloss assigned to each show. But it is equally clear that originally there was but *one* picture.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 8, 323, and 324.

men, women, and children—at *thirty.* Now, in the foremost section alone there are at least twenty[1] Gypsies; and, in the rear section, twenty-nine. Thus, upon M. Meaume's basis, there are no less than *forty-nine* people in the troop. But, if this had been so, then Callot's view of the same band in their temporary camp leaves thirteen absentees to be accounted for, at a moment when all were likely to be together, because there were only thirty-seven present on that occasion.[2] Either, then, there are thirteen absentees from the camp-scene, or else the total number of the band was thirty-seven. Assuming the latter of these to be the correct hypothesis, then many of the figures in the two divisions of the procession are used twice over. On these arithmetical grounds alone, this seems the proper deduction to make, and its probable correctness is borne out by various peculiarities of the figures themselves.

While we may take for granted, then, that this twofold picture places before us the figures of Callot's comrades, and is to a certain extent historically true, we must also understand that he had used an artist's liberty to employ the figures as he chose, and to duplicate them if he thought that would improve his subject. We must also remember that if the pictures were never sketched until the period in which they appeared as engravings, the scenes were those recalled by a man of thirty, relating to events which happened when he was twelve. But, subject to this discount, the series unmistakably contains a group of actual portraits.

The delight with which one regards these is very fitly expressed by M. Meaume, and the fineness of detail is not properly appreciated until after a prolonged examination. Not a stroke of Callot's burin has been superfluous, and so minute indeed are some of his facts that, unless to a man of the keenest sight, they are imperceptible without a magnifying-glass.

M. Meaume has styled the two portions of this twin-picture "The Advance Guard" and "The Departure," but I have ventured to give them both the one title, "On the March," and to adjust them so as to form one picture, as I believe they originally did. It will be understood, then, that the picture here called "On the March," is everywhere else known as two separate pictures; the line of division occurring exactly at the spear-head and uplifted finger of the *lanzknecht,* who walks at the head of the last pair of horses.

Although these two views certainly introduce this Gypsy band to

[1] And perhaps twenty-*four.* See footnote on next page.

[2] The arithmetic of this sentence seems faulty, at first sight, but an intimacy with the pictures will show that it is correct.

us, as their relative mottoes show they are meant to do, they contain a slight hint that the picture which usually succeeds them describes an event preceding this "departure" by an hour or two. If one looks closely at the small figures visible between the legs of the horse on which the Gypsy queen is riding, in the foremost part of "On the March," one sees that the pursuers, who brandish a flail and a pitch-fork, the pursued, who are bearing off some of their poultry,[1] and the flying fowls themselves, are all very suggestive of the by-play on the left of the picture which I have called "Spoiling the Gaujoes." Of course such a scene must have been witnessed often enough by Callot during his journey (and although his biographer contemns the brigandage of his companions, it must be remembered that it was by these means that Callot himself was able to sustain life on his way to Florence). This trifling detail, however, is of minor importance. The initial scene of the three gives us a wonderfully complete idea of the appearance of a band of Gypsies "on the march" about three hundred years ago.

The foremost section of the procession, that styled by M. Meaume "L'avant-garde," is not analysed by him very particularly, nor has it received that detailed notice which M. Arsène Houssaye accords to the twin-picture. And yet it is unsurpassed, if it is even equalled, by any other portion of the series. Nothing can be more perfect than the effect given by the leading figure, though so partially visible. With his long fusil on his shoulder (ready to knock over a hare at opportunity, as the one that hangs from his girdle testifies), his left arm thrown out to beckon on his lingering friends, or to shake defiance at the threatening *gaujoes* in the background, his body slightly advanced as he swings along with an easy gait, the full plume waving from his ragged sombrero, he is a perfect specimen of the wild, devil-may-care "Bohemian." Not less interesting are the two cavaliers behind him. And these two seem clearly the chiefs of the band. The strong horses they bestride are in splendid condition, their equipments are complete, and their manes—"washed, and combed, and twined in even tresses," like the locks of that steed which "the young Herminia" loved to tend—demonstrate that

[1] These minute figures in the background are more doubtful than the others. At first they look as if they were all townspeople in pursuit of the Gypsies, who are just about to rejoin their comrades. But a close examination seems to indicate that only two of them are *pursuers*, and that consequently the other four are members of the band. The second last of these is endeavouring to thrust his pitchfork into the man in front of him, against whom the uplifted flail of the last pursuer seems also directed. And as the man so menaced bears a fowl in his left hand, while other fowls are escaping from those in front of him, too hotly pursued to retain their booty, it would seem that all of this little group, except the too rearmost figures, are Gypsies.

affection which the true Gypsy used to bear to his horse. In the appearance of their riders there is nothing whatever of the conventional ragged Gypsy, unless it is to be found in the slightly frayed brim of the cavalier-hat worn by the horseman who carries his little son *en croupe* behind him. Each of these horsemen has a well-filled valise strapped to his saddle, and their attire (with the slight exception just noticed) is in perfect order, from the crown of their plumed hats to the spurs on their strong jackboots. In regarding them, one gains some idea of how the genuine Romano Rye once looked.[1] The boy-cavalier is a delightful figure as he sits behind his father, with his own small sword by his side, his hand resting saucily on his hip, his sash dancing behind him, and his plumed head with its long curls turned contemptuously towards the halting townsfolk in the background. I apply the term "cavalier" advisedly to these three mounted figures, who, with their luxuriant locks, waving feathers, pointed moustaches, and proud, defiant bearing, as well as in every item of their dress, are "cavaliers" all over. The same term, though not with etymological precision, is also most applicable to the musketeer who walks beside the foremost horseman, as well as to the jaunty youth who steps out so airily from the front of the second section.

With regard to the horsewomen, it may be noted that they sit their horses in the old fashion, like Chaucer's "Wife of Bath." The foremost of them, "a kind of queen of the band," says M. Meaume, wears what is apparently a straw hat, perhaps of the kind called "Leghorn,"[2] with a brim that projects disproportionately to the front. A similar peculiarity will be noticed in the hats worn by the old man on the cart-horse, and by the man and one of the boys sitting in the cart. Apparently the only kind of saddles enjoyed by the female riders are those formed by their blankets and tent-covers, for it does not seem that even the sandalled feet of the "queen" are resting in

[1] The oppressive laws of many generations have so crushed the Gypsy system, and almost obliterated all traces of Gypsy characteristics, that one is apt to overlook the fact that the insignificant van-dweller of to-day by no means represents the high-caste Gypsy of the past. Even in the early part of this century, certain families of English Gypsies retained much of the appearance of Callot's comrades:—"Something like Gypsies they were, with their riding horses, real hunters, to ride to the fairs and wakes on; and the women with their red cloaks and high old-fashioned beaver hats; and the men in beautiful silk velvet coats and white and yellow satin waistcoats, and all on 'em booted and spurred. . . . Gypsies! there aren't no Gypsies now" (*In Gypsy Tents*, Silvanus Lovell *loq.*) The accounts given by Mr. Simson, in his *History of the Gypsies*, of some of the high-caste Gypsies of Southern Scotland—such as the Ruthvens, the Baillies, and the Kennedys—corresponds closely with the above account of Mr. Groome's. [I have myself brought together several of these descriptions in *Ancient and Modern Britons* (London, 1884), vol. ii., chaps. ii. and x.]

[2] Or, perhaps, both in this instance and in that of the men, these hats were made of "beaver."

stirrups. Their much-tried palfreys carry burdens of the most heterogeneous kind, notably infants, in great profusion; and it is no doubt on account of the maternal duties which consequently devolve upon them that the ladies are so very *décolletées*. The dress of the females, it will be seen, is much less complete than that of the men, and while the latter are all well-booted, the former are barefoot—unless an exception ought to be made in the case of the "queen." It is noteworthy that four of the women in this procession, and also one of the children, wear cloaks or shawls, having broad stripes running across them. There is good reason to believe that this particular kind of shawl was characteristic of Gypsies, not only in 1604, but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also, as may be seen from two Gypsy pictures of these periods, which are reproduced in Lacroix's *Manners, etc., during the Middle Ages*.

The wonderful capacity for ingenious packing which one observes when looking at the horsewomen and their steeds, is equally conspicuous among the travellers on foot, who indeed are in some cases so overweighted that one is tempted to believe that here, at least, Callot has dealt in exaggeration. Perhaps the real explanation of this feature is that the bulk of the plunder had just been obtained, and that the scene of the feast, where most of it would soon be disposed of, was not far distant from the town they had thus raided.

Among the figures that are presumably duplicated are those of the two nags, with all their belongings, which appear in the van of the rear section, as well as in the latter part of the foremost division. So also may the sorely-burdened mother, who walks beside them in the one piece, be again recognised, with her children by her side, in the other. Perhaps, also, the man, woman, and children, who (the man with a lance slanted over his shoulder) are seen in the background of the first division, ought to be identified with one or other of the figures in the second. The dashing young *lanzknecht*, with his slashed doublet and hose, who leads the rear division, is not recognisable in the foremost party; but he is most likely the same as the kneeling card-player in the camp-scene, if one is to judge from the light petronel, or *demi-haque*, that hangs from the right thigh in either figure.

A propos of their firearms, these, it may be remarked, are quite a study in themselves, being of various sizes and fashions. The same may also be said of their swords and daggers. The tasselled spears of the *lanzknechts* ought also to be noticed. Nor can the number of their weapons escape remark. When M. Meaume states that "the

men are armed to the teeth," he makes an indisputable assertion; and the indignant villagers in the background might well hesitate before they attempted to recover their property from this formidable band of brigands, who, indeed, march contemptuously along, as if such an idea as an attack upon them was not to be dreamt of.

Before we turn from our Bohemians "on the march," a few more remarks may be made about the second half of the procession. The determined-looking "swashbuckler" who brings up the rear is assuredly not the least powerful of the band. He ought, perhaps, to be identified with the man who stands in the foreground of the next picture, as that man also carries a sheep on his back. But in this scene of the march he not only carries a sheep—or rather, a lamb (here visible under his right arm)—but also an enormous load on his back, resolvable (according to choice) into a child, a hare, or a heavy pack or knapsack. As he is weighted also with his sword, cutlass, and arquebuse, and yet strides easily along, it is evident that this man (supposing this to be a true description) must have been a most formidable enemy in a close encounter.

The most humorous figure of all is, perhaps, that of the boy who wears the tripod-pot for helmet, the kettle-prop or turnspit for a lance, and a huge pan or kettle on his back, while the gridiron swings at his waist. These form a striking contrast to the grandeur of his wide sleeve, extravagantly slashed, which, like his solitary boot, was manifestly made for a "child" of much larger growth. All these little Gypsies are very amusing, and not even the tiniest that can walk is without something in the shape of baggage or of booty. To notice all of the details would only be wearisome, but it may be pointed out that the two men who walk on the left of the procession suggest some difference in degree or in kind from their companions. Both wear a peculiar conical hat, differing from those of their comrades; and, either because they are in shadow or because of a difference in *race*, their faces appear quite swarthy. That there might be a racial reason for this is not at all unlikely. For those who have paid any attention to the Gypsydom of the past, if not of the present also, are aware that a Gypsy company contained a variety of castes, and that, along with the Gypsy chiefs who appear in records of two or three centuries ago, there is also mention of Gypsy servants. Another characteristic feature of this band is that of the accompanying dogs. Of the higher castes of Scotch Gypsies, last century, we are told that "at the heels of their horses followed greyhounds, and other dogs of the chase, for their amusement." "The first Gypsies,"

Vous qui prenez plaisir en leurs parolles,
Gardez uos blancs, uos testons, et pistolles
Callot f.

says Mr. Crofton (quoting Krantz), "kept hunting-dogs, like the nobility"; and it may be noted here that in the sectional view of a procession of high-caste Gypsies of the fifteenth century, reproduced by Lacroix[1] from an old French tapestry, there appears a greyhound, of a small size (the "Italian" variety, it would seem), adorned with an elegant embroidered collar, quite in keeping with the rich attire of its owners.

In the picture which I have named "Spoiling the Gaujoes," we have a very lively scene presented to us. Whether its action precedes that of the double picture just described is not a matter of importance. But this is very likely. The side scene on the left hand of this picture is at once recalled by an examination of the minute figures, and their surroundings in the background of the front section of the "March." Besides the company "on the march" are so loaded with all kinds of provender, alive and dead, that their next natural proceeding would rather be to dispose of it, as in the camp-scene, than to acquire fresh plunder of the same kind, as in the scene now to be glanced at. But it must be remembered that although these are, in all probability real descriptions, Callot was not bound down to render them with painful exactness throughout. What he has done has been to leave us three Gypsy scenes, faithful, no doubt, in their effect, but not necessarily recording a consecutive series of events. There seems no reason for questioning that what he drew is what he saw, at one time or another on his journey to Florence, and we need not trouble ourselves greatly as to the consistency and relative connection of the pictures.

The band has here halted beside the inn of a small town; and men, women, and children have at once proceeded to business. The women are telling the Gaujoes' fortunes, and thereby extracting from their purses (in two ways, if the artist's warning is well-founded) the very coins, it may be assumed, which amuse the gamblers in the next picture. Meantime the rest of the troop are making a most effective onslaught on the hen-houses, pigstyes, and granary. The little scene at the side of the hay-loft or granary is more like the "comic business" in a Christmas harlequinade than anything else; and poultry and grain are handed out with great rapidity. A similar degree of business-like energy is observable on the left. Such a daring act of pillage as this whole scene shows us throws much light upon the position once occupied by those formidable marauding Gypsy bands. So far as any attempt at immediate resistance was

[1] *Manners, etc., of the Middle Ages* (Eng. tr.), p. 457.

probable, these strongly-armed brigands might have dispensed with the side-play of their fortune-tellers. But it must be remembered that, by this date, laws of the most stringent kind had been repeatedly enacted throughout Europe, with the aim of wholly suppressing the "Egyptians," and although these laws were still, in many cases, ignored, it was nevertheless expedient, on the part of the "Egyptians," to refrain as much as possible from open violence and bloodshed.[1]

From this scene we can easily understand how it was that young Callot, an almost penniless runaway, was able to sustain life (and even to live with great comfort) during his two months' journey between Nancy and Florence. And the fact that such scenes were of daily occurrence, and were endured by the non-Gypsy populations of Europe for many generations, often without an attempt at resistance, is suggestive of a very great deal.

Of the various details of this picture it is needless to say much more. M. Houssaye describes these (sometimes with doubtful precision), and draws attention, among other things, to the horsewoman who is about to dismount, and to her attentive squire.

Whatever may be the proper order of the other scenes, that which we now come to bears inherent evidence that it is the last of the sequence. It is as full of interest as any of the others—interest and pathos too—and it is no less instructive than the scenes which precede it. Here we are even more closely initiated into the usages of the strange, reckless, Bohemian life, and see still more of the many-sided character of "that wild brotherhood."

By what road this party traversed Mid-Europe on their way to Florence, or through which pass they penetrated the mountain-barrier that guards the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy, we do not know. Nor does it appear whether the young traveller ever saw his wandering friends again, after they had parted on the Arno's banks. But he has left behind him a record of that journey that is not only a delight to the outward eye, but that far surpasses the

[1] The old-time Gypsy attitude is well preserved by Miss Janet Tuckey (*English Gypsy Songs*, London, 1875) in the following lines, not unsuitable in connection with this scene :—

"If the Gypsy man is weary,
There's a horse in the farmer's stall;
If the Gypsy child is hungry,
There's a hen near the granary wall;
If the Gypsy lads are thirsty,
There's beer enough for them all;
And if there's nought in the Gypsy's hand,
There are wealthy Gorgios in all the land."

Au bout du comte ils treuuent pour destin
Qu'ils sont uenus d'Aegipte a ce festin

meagre scraps of information to be gleaned from chronicles and prohibitory edicts in what it tells us of the Gypsies of three hundred years ago.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.[1]

V.—THE NUTTS AND THEIR LANGUAGE.

THE following account has been communicated by Surgeon-Major G. Ranking, M.D., India, to his brother, D. Fearon Ranking, LL.D., member of this Society, in answer to his queries regarding the Indian tribe of the *Nutts*, who are recognised as Indian Gypsies:—

The *Nutts* are, as you know, a wandering caste, of *Hindu* or *Mahommedan* religion, though their name and origin are both *Hindu*. Still this is by no means rare, as ever since Akbar's time the religion of the conquering tribe has in many places supplanted the older Hindu religion in the North of India, and you find marriage ceremonies of Mussulman origin among undoubtedly Hindu tribes, and so on. The word *nutt* नट is a Sanskrit word, meaning "acrobat," I believe (as you know, I know no Sanskrit). They are, however, now not so much tumblers, etc., but simply vagrants. The men tell fortunes and steal where they get a chance, gaining a living ostensibly by weaving string, matting, and so on. The women worship Venus, and are much affected by the British soldier on his marches. They live in the groves along the roadsides, where you may see their encampments of small round-topped tents, made of bamboo and matting, or *sirkee*, which is a kind of reed much used for making covers to carts and so on. These tents are about four and a half to five feet high, and generally about eight or ten feet long. They are outcasted both for their immorality and also for their want of care in food. That is to say, they will eat anything—like the bargee's epicure. For the rest, they seem a decent enough lot, so far as I have met them on different marches.

I derive their word *sirkímá* from the word *sirkí*—affix *má*—as I see no reason for thinking it to be the Persian rather classical word سرخيم, *sirkhíma*, used in the meaning of chief encampment of an army. Of course the similarity, both in sound and sense, is temptingly

[1] These pictures are described by M. Meaume in the work here cited. See also M. Arsène Houssaye's articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (t. iii., 1842), and in the *Artiste* (5e série, t. iii., 1849). In J. H. Green's "Catalogue and Description" of Callot's works (London, 1804), this series is called "The Travelling Gypsies." They were inventoried as "4 planches des Egyptiens" at the sale of Israel Silvestre's Callot collection in 1691 (Meaume, I., part ii., 34-36).

great; but in the absence of all other evidence, I think the simple local etymology preferable. It seems to me that the majority of their words may be derived from Hindi either direct or through the Punjabi, which contains a certain admixture of mongrel Persian, probably brought down by Alexander's people. There are, however, I confess, words of which I am not able to suggest the origin.

Gím, a thief (*g* hard); *natíhal*, bedstead; *jhakúra*, shoulder; *jard*, a spade; *lodí*, buffalo; *jomal*, a mango; *masíl*, silver, etc. etc.—very likely, as you suggest, Dravidian.

Niráhí,[1] drink, I think may be connected with *nirá*, pure; or *nithrá*, clear.

Na-wání, water; contains this root, and also the word *pání*.

Rhyming is a great trick among Hindustanis: thus they would say, *pání nawání* for *pání*.

Their phrase for "a child is born" seems to be pure Hindi: they say, *laṛkja apja*. Now both *laṛka*, a boy, and *apná* (obs.), to be born, are pure Sanskrit words (the causal *apáná* is still current).

Their word for the sky, *jháwar* or *chháwar*, I look upon as containing the root *chháw*, to thatch. Again, fire, *kugní*=*agni*, Sanskrit.

Dahalkā, a boil, may be connected with *dahal*, a marsh, quagmire; as we say, the tissues over a boil are "boggy."

Dhamkar, bread. This seems to be the root *dham*, either "kneading," or, as in *dhamka*, "intense heat."

Kunjí=prefix *ku*, *anjī*, for *anāj*=corn.

Jhartan=H. *bartan*, a plate, vessel; cf. *jharda*=PP. *murda*, a corpse.

Jhakáná=*pakáná*, to cook.

Jaghal=*baghal*, armpit.

Their word for blood, *baggar*, is a puzzling one. Various derivations suggest themselves to me, viz.:—

1. *Baggā*, *dakhní*, for a fountain, *jet d'eau*, and suggests the idea of the blood spurting out from a wounded vessel.

1*a*. *Bag*, as in the Punjabi *bagná*, to flow.

2. *Bagrā* or *bagnī*, fighting and quarrelling.

Personally I incline to the first of these, but, like all my other remarks, this is merely a surmise. I am no philologer, and if I were, knowing no Sanskrit, I should be all at sea in this particular.

[1] *Nirahli*, grass, may contain this root, as grass would be found near water=*nirā* (water), *harī*=green=*nirahali* (?). *Mahalá*, a horse, might be *maha*, great+*lá*, bringer or carrier (?). Possibly their word for a Gypsy camp, which is *dakhníma* or *dhakníma*, may point to an origin from the *dakkan*, or south.

The following words were taken down from a "Nutt." I have transliterated them to the best of my ability:—

nutt, beggar (male).
mangtan, beggar (female).
babwí, girl.
lolá, boy.
mathúá, mother.
bábá, father.
bábwá, brother.
gím, thief.
dhúmí, head.
kúnkí, eye.
kanchúá, ear.
kúmar, mouth.
kúntma, lip.
kúdárhí, beard.
kúhat, hand.
kangrí, finger.
kangútha, thumb.
nakhchúá, nail (finger).
jhúnchá, wrist.
khúnchá, elbow.
jhakúrá, shoulder.
jhatchúá, belly.
dhúntchúá, navel.
lahíá, scrotum.
gorchúá, foot.
tarwáchúá, sole of foot.
jíntná, to eat.
jíntní, food.
niráhí, drink.
nawání, water.
jastímá,[1] water-carrier.
jhatar, sweeper.
tonkná, to sleep.
téúkná, to sit.
kutná, to rise up.
chéúgná,[2] to run.
lagáí dená, to kill.
dená, to give.
lut gaya, is dead.
jháwar, sky.
ramchúá = *ráma*.
jhúnrá, chair.
nasrahlí, grass.
dhartímá, earth.
rakhchúá, tree.
lodí, buffalo.
náglí, cow.
dadháí, donkey.
jakrí, goat.
darghí, hen.
jhúnsá, rat.
músá, mouse.
máhalá, horse.
chachhérí, colt.
kúlakrímá, stick.
thelímá, pocket-bag.
dhúnpar, turban.
baggar, blood.
jajúmá, arm.
jagal, axilla.
lagní, hot wind.
kután, roof.
banrí, prostitute.
chilamchúá, basin.
jatpáo, beat him.
nat-hil, bedstead.
dhunpal, bedding.
jasáb, urine.
chaltá, coin.
chatímá, chest (thorax).
jharmá, broom.
dholí, bullet.
jannúk, gun.
chutchúá, a blow.
rúp rá, hold your tongue.
kúgan, fire.
kúgan lag pátal, it has caught fire.
dhabar kai páo, bury it.
dhaknima, a Gypsy camp.
nirá, village.
chéúngí, begging.
nicharna, to make dance.
dharám, illness.
nakchúá, well (adj.).
sarkímá, tent.
sarakchúá, camping-ground.
jardchúá, pain.
jard, a spade.
dhalka, a mattock.
dhamkar, bread.
jhakáná, to cook.
kunjí, corn-grain.
kánjíchúá, key.
jhartan, cup-plate.
kalota, a "lota" (brass drinking-vessel).
sarchúá, a town.
karát, night.
dinchúá, day.

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[1] (?) Root, H. *Jal*, water.

[2] (?) *Chiog*.

jharda, corpse.
doorchúá, a door.
jharka, a drop.
kalál, red.
kujrá, white.
dharyá, black.
sabchúá, gray.
jalwá, dog.
jatwál, drunk.
jurub, east. Hindi, *púrub*.
kutar, north. Hindi, *uttar*.
kadakanmá, south. H., *dakhan*.
achhám, west. H., *pachham*.
kuwandamá or *jandá*, egg. { H., *anda*; *ku anda-má*.
jarí, to-morrow morning.
karánjí, this evening.
tomal, mango.
jhánchí, a fly.
janjrí or *kawánchal*, a fish. { *áb*, water; *chal*, goer; *ku*, prefix.
roná, to sleep.
masíl, silver.
chandchúá, moon.
surajchúá, sun.
satarmá, star.
nezí, a sword. P., *neza*, a spear.
dúdná, to leap. H., *kúdná*.
ralí já, "go," look sharp.
jínt leo, eat this.
dhyále páo, drink (this).
chéúg já, run.
jhalóg gaya, it is lost.

Chūā.—An affixed syllable whose meaning I cannot determine. It seems to be added to words of Hindi origin adopted, thus :—

kanchua = *kān*.
nakhchūā = *nakhun*.
jhatchūā = *pet*.
(?) for *jhar chúá*, place of excrement (?).
tarwāchūā = *talwá*.
ramchūā = *Rama*.
rakhchua = *rúkh or dirakht*.
chilamchūā = *chilam(chī)*.
chutchūā = *chot*.
sarakchua = (place of drawing aside), (?) *saraknà*.
nakchūā (?) *nek*, Persian for "good."
jardchūā = *dard*, pain, or *zard*, pale.
sarchūā = chief place (?) *sar* = head.
dinchúá = *din*.
doorchúá = *darwaza*.
sabchūā = *sabza*.
chandchūā = *chand*.
surajchua = *suraj*.

Kū—similarly prefixed, with or without *ma* affixed—as *kuhat* = hath, etc.; *kulakrīmá* = *lakri*; *ma*—an affix—*thelímá* = *thailí*, as *sarkímá* = *sarkí* (kind of reed used for thatching), *kugan* = *ku-ajan*.

J appears as (1) a substitute for *b* and *p* sounds in certain words, viz. :—

jhúncha = (H.), *pahuncha*.
jakrí = (H.), *bakrí*.
jajúmá = (H.), *bázú* + affix *má*.
jagal = (H.), *baghal*.
jasáb = (P.), *pesháb*, vulgo *pessáb*.
jannúk = *bandúk*.
jhakáná = (H.), *pakáná*.
jurub = (H.), *púrub*. Etc.

(2) A substitute for *m* sounds, *e.g.* :-

jhurda = *murda*.
jatwál = *matwálá*.
jhánchí = *makkhí*, vulgo *mánkí*.

G. Ranking.

NOTE BY DR. FEARON RANKING.

On reading the vocabulary sent by my brother, my first feeling was : "Well, there is no resemblance to Romani in these words"; and it was not till I had read them over two or three times that I began to see that most of the words could, with some little trouble, be identified as having the same origin with

familiar Romani words. My brother has pointed out above how words of Hindi origin are disguised by prefixes and suffixes; and, examining the vocabulary by this light, we come across such words as *(ku)anki=yok*, *kan(chua)*, *(ku)angutha*, *rukh(chua)*, *(ku)tan*, *(ku)uga=yog*, *(ku)rati*, *(ku)lal*. The change of a palatal for a labial is curious; and I do not remember to have met with it before. Can any one tell me of any other language where it occurs? It seems to match the common change of a guttural for a dental: disguised by this change we find *mang*=to beg, under the form of *chéúngi*; though we also find *mang-tan*=a female beggar; *bakra*=a sheep; as *jakrí*=a goat; *vast*=a hand; as *jajuma* (bázú); *matwálá* (matto), as *jatwál*. One is led to suspect that some of these changes are intentional, and made with the purpose of disguising the words from the natives after the manner of a back slang or rhyming slang. I have found the study of the vocabulary sent by my brother both curious and interesting; and I hope it may prove the same to other readers of the journal.

VI.—PERSIAN AND SYRIAN GYPSIES.

SO little is known of non-European Gypsies that no excuse is needed for reprinting the following passages from Sir William Ouseley's *Travels in Various Countries of the East; more particularly Persia* (3 vols. 4to, Lond. 1823), even though the vocabulary has been partially utilised by Pott. They occur on pp. 400-405 of the third volume under the date Tabriz, June 1812:—

"I met one morning, at Mr. Campbell's house, a man of the tribe called *Karátchi* or *Karáchi*; people who seemed to resemble our Gypsies in many respects, besides the use of a particular dialect or jargon among themselves; for they are said to love an erratic and idle life, preferring tents to houses; to pilfer eggs, poultry, linen, and other things with great dexterity; to tell a person's fortune by inspecting the palm of his hand, and to be nearly, or perhaps altogether, without any religion. The man with whom I conversed acknowledged that most of his *táïfeh* or tribe had not any certain form of worship or system of faith; but, some Mohammedans being present, he loudly thanked God that he was himself a true believer, a very orthodox disciple, of their prophet. The *Tátárs* or Turkish couriers, from Constantinople, happening to enter the room, immediately recognised this man and his companions to be *Chingánis* or *Zingánis*, a race of whom the males, they said, were all dishonest, and the females unchaste; and Mustafa, who had been in England, whispered to me that they were the same as our Gypsies. They confessed that, with respect to the name, those *Tátár* couriers had given a correct account, as the people of their tribe were denominated *Zingáni* by the Turks. I was anxious to learn some words of their peculiar dialect, and wrote down from the lips of one who seemed the most intelligent of these *Karáchís*,

a shrewd fellow, although perfectly illiterate, the short vocabulary below given:—

God, *Khuia*.
the sun, *gam*.
moon, *miftaw*.
bread, *menaw* or *menav*.
water, *páni*.
horse, *agora*.
cow, *mangow*.
house, *gar*.
salt, *nùl*.
tree, *dàr*.
man, *manes*.
woman, *jivi*.
fire, *aik*.
boy or son, *zarù*.
daughter, *lovki*.
mother, *mami*.
father, *dadi*.
brother, *bor*.
sister, *behn*.
fish, *metchè*.
bed, *chimarì*.
smoke, *dadù*.
good, *sona*.
bad, *pris*.
black, *kala*.
white, *paranah*.
green, *nila*.
quick, *khali*.
great, *barah* or *varah*.
little, *jùnah*.
a tent, *gari*.
milk, *kihr*.
butter, *tehl*.
gold, *pildaw*.
silver, *urp* or *ourp*.
to go, *jaunk*.
to come, *paw*.
to drink, *tepi*.
to eat, *kamen*.
to fight, *lakhti*.
to bring, *naun*.
bring bread, *menaw naun*.
the wind, *waï*.
sword, *tuvrar*.
knife, *cheri*.
shoes, *múzi*.
finger, *angùl*.
ear, *kian*.
beard, *kùtch*.
eye, *aki*.
nose, *nàk* or *nànk*.
mouth, *zever*.
hand, *khast*.
foot, *pàf*.
belly, *khiùm*.
leg, *lùleh*.
thigh, *bùth*.
sheep, *bekra*.
dog, *senùta*.
coat, *geisi*.
cap, *kuli*.
earth, *bùih*.
sea, *dahns*.
star, *chanani*.
flame, *alaw* or *alav*.
widow, *duljiveh*.
old woman, *viddi*.
not, *tata*.
cold, *si*.
man of the house, *gara-sabi* or *gara-savi*.
an infant, *khuldar*.
tent-rope, *sehli*.
three (the number), *teràn*.
four, *ishtàr*.

The other numerals nearly the same as in Persian.

"On the evening of the 24th, Major Christie invited me, with some other friends, to partake of an entertainment at his quarters. He first gratified us by an exhibition of seven or eight *pahlawáns* or wrestlers. . . . To this buffoonery succeeded a puppet-show. One man having unfolded a sheet or curtain of greenish linen, and fixed it on a wooden frame about 3 feet long, established his little theatre in two minutes, and seated himself inside, where he managed the puppets and was concealed from our view; whilst another, standing close to the frame outside, conversed with the principal personages, and served to explain the story. *Pahlawán*, the 'illustrious hero or warrior' (in England called *Punch*), happening to look out of his door or window, beholds a young lady and immediately becomes enamoured; but his friend (the man sitting outside) informs him that he must not cherish a passion which would certainly prove hopeless, or perhaps cause his destruction, this fair damsel being sister to several ferocious *díves*, or monstrous giants. Pahlawán sighs and whines in a most ridiculous manner; one brother then appears, a very formidable figure, with a hideous face and two long horns. The

lover betrays some symptoms of fear; but at last attacks the dív, and after many loud collisions of wooden skulls and fists, he conquers and kills the giant, and hangs his carcase head downwards over the stage, in front. Another of this frightful race, a yellow dív, next encounters Pahlawán, and falls in a deadly combat; a red, a white, a black, and a speckled brother, one also having the head of a dog, and another with a single but immense horn, successively fight the lover, are all slain, and hung in a row with the first monster. The mother too—an old sorceress or witch, having a black face and white hair—shares the fate of her sons. Pahlawán immediately resolves to carry off his mistress and enjoy the fruits of victory; but the discreet monitor advises him to marry the young lady with due forms and ceremonies. A *Múlá* or priest, a *Kázi* or magistrate, a lawyer, and others attend; a bargain for the dowry is regularly made; then follows the *arúsi* or nuptial procession, in which a man displays fire-works on his head, and several dancing girls and musicians appear; at length Pahlawán is introduced to his lovely bride, and expresses the force of his amorous passion by gesticulations more intelligible than delicate; although out of respect to the English gentlemen present (or, as I believe, in consequence of a hint from Major Christie), much of the indecency was suppressed, which generally renders this concluding scene the chief delight of Turks and Persians. We heard that ladies of high rank condescend to smile at the exhibition of this puppet-show, with which their husbands sometimes treat them, and that on these occasions no part of the original performance is omitted. Both of this entertainment and of the farce which preceded, the dialogues were constructed in *Turko* or Turkish, as spoken by the wandering tribes and lower classes of people inhabiting the northern provinces of Persia. My imperfect knowledge of this dialect rendered me incapable of thoroughly comprehending the many passages which excited bursts of laughter among the crowd; but they were evidently replete with humour, as I could judge even from an explanation of them in Persian. The managers of these shows, and the musicians who attended them, were said to be mostly of the *Karachi* (or Gypsy) tribe already mentioned. Pahlawán, I must here remark, squeaked in exactly the same kind of feigned voice as Punch in our common English puppet-shows."

At Göttingen, in 1873, I several times came across a family of German Gypsies, very full-blooded ones, who were marionette-showers; and Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851) shows that the slang of an English Punch and Judy man contains several Romani words. The "plays" that the Gypsies used to act

at Roslin Castle, near Edinburgh, between 1559-1628 (cf. *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 106)—what were they?

In this connection, too, the following passage from Hone's *Ancient Mysteries* (Lond. 1823, pp. 230-1) is not irrelevant:—

"The English puppet-show was formerly called a *motion*. Shakespeare mentions the performance of *Mysteries* by puppets; his Autolycus frequented wakes, fairs, and bear-baitings, and 'compassed a *motion* of the *Prodigal Son*.' On a Twelfth Night, in 1818, a man, making the usual Christmas cry of '*Gallantee show*,' was called in to exhibit his performances for the amusement of my young folks and their companions. Most unexpectedly, he 'compassed a *motion* of the *Prodigal Son*'; by dancing his transparencies between the magnifying-glass and candle of a magic-lanthorn, the coloured figures, greatly enlarged, were reflected on a sheet spread against the wall of a darkened room. The Prodigal Son was represented carousing with his companions at the Swan Inn, at Stratford, while the landlady in the bar, on every fresh call, was seen to score double. There was also *Noah's Ark*, with '*Pull Devil, Pull Baker*,' or the just judgment upon a baker who sold short of weight, and was carried to hell in his own basket. The reader will bear in mind that this was not a *motion* in the dramatic sense of the word, but a puppet-*like* exhibition of a Mystery, with discrepancies of the same character as those which peculiarized the Mysteries of five centuries ago. The Gallantee-showman narrated with astonishing gravity the incidents of every fresh scene, while his companion in the room played country-dances and other tunes on the street-organ during the whole of the performance. The manager informed me that his show had been the same during many years, and, in truth, it was unvariable; for his entire property consisted of but this one set of glasses and his magic-lanthorn. I failed in an endeavour to make him comprehend that its propriety could be doubted of. It was the first time that he had heard of the possibility of an objection to an entertainment which his audiences witnessed every night with uncommon and unbounded applause. Expressing a hope that I would command his company at a future time, he put his card into my hand, inscribed 'The *Royal Gallantee Show*, provided by Jos. Leverge, 7, Ely Court, Holborn Hill'—the very spot whereon the last theatrical representation of a Mystery, the play of *Christ's Passion*, is recorded to have been witnessed in England."[1]

[1] Cf. *Loveridge* or *Leveridge*, an English-Gypsy name. Also note that Shakespeare's Autolycus, who is associated with tinkers, pedlars, and bear-leaders (cf. *ursari*), was also a "gallantee-showman."

The following very valuable Syriac-Gypsy vocabulary was sent me in March 1881, by Miss G. G. Everest of Beyrout, who had got it from a friend at Damascus. Miss Everest has since died, but I give the vocabulary exactly as I received it:—

bread, *manaa.*
sun-light, *ttalla.*
the sun has risen, *qildattaa.*
bring water, *aăn pāny.*
bring the book, *aăn qaghătt.*
book, *qaghătt.*
he brought the book, *anda qaghăttus.*
a road, *pŭndh.*
where is the road from Hasbeiya to Rasheiya? } *kāny pŭndh Hasbiak Risheeayta?*
from here, *minzaytta.*
here and there, *hayta wa hota.*
above you, *watoonōr.*
below you, *binōr.*
before them, *wagrōr.*
behind them, *rutchōr.*
a good man, *qorda dgiby.*
a good horse, *qordagoreih.*
a bad man, *shēneegiby.*
a bad horse, *shēneegoreih.*
a big boy, *ttulla oury.*
a little boy, *ittnotta* (*iknōtta*) *oury.*
sea, *dangiz.*
how do you do? *kittree keifoor?*
quite well, *kihasttoori.*
gold, *zardha.*
silver, *orp.*
dog, *boodgee.*
wheat, *gayso.*
a stone, *wŭtt.*
a fig, *ingeer.*
a grape, *durāk.*
fire, *agg.*
wood, *qashtt.*
I, *amāh.*
we, *ameen.*
thou, *altoo.*
you, *attmeen.*
he, she, it, *panjee.*
they, *panjeean.*
who (sing. and plur. relative), *hully.*
this man, *haimānus.*
that man, *unhoory mānus.*
these, *hana totian.*
those, *hanak ajeen.*
who of them, *qo wayshean.*
child, *tchāgha.*
coffee, *tahhla.*
father, *bāb.*
mother, *dād.*
his father, *bāboss.*
his mother, *dādoss.*
son, *eross.*
daughter, *lavteeh.*
his son, *erossy.*
her daughter, *lavteeyoosy.*
brother, *bāross.*
sister, *banoss.*
those houses, *hana creen.*
tent, *latshaa.*
house, *labātt-ikree.*
water, *pāny.*
light the fire, *mooshnaw waggus.*
remove the stone, *nushttār wuttus.*
who are those? *qo yareen?*
those, *yareen.*
the man came to us, *manus ruora passōman.*
the house which was burnt, *cree hŭlly waishra.*
the man who came to us, *manus hŭlly russra passōman.*
the men who . . . [*sic* in MS.], *manseen hully russrent.*
bring wood for the fire, *aăn qashtt agaga.*
extinguish the fire, *marraguss.*
mountain, *ttŭll.*
go to the mountain, *jān ttŭll.*
we will go to the mountain, *aroojan ttŭll.*
cooked food, *eesh.*
Gypsy's house, *dōr mukri.*
peasant, *ttatt gajei.*
peasants, *ttatteen gajeeneh.*
one man, *eka mānusa.*
twenty men, *weest mānusa.*
a large house, *ttulla kiry.*
a small house, *iknootta kiry.*
a large mountain, *ttulla ttullyee.*
a small mountain, *iknootta thulyee.*
a rich man, *anhha arwedei.*
a strong box, *akeemāla aaimeh.*
salt water, *pāny looneh.*
hard wood, *qashtt qurda.*
heavy rain, *gheim wursŭndu.*
a tree, *dhāl.*
many trees, *boodhaleeny.*

he killed him, *mardhoss.*
do not kill him, *ma maross.*
who killed him, *qo mardhoss.*
I struck him, *amāh jāromiss.*
thou struckest me, *alto jārorim.*
he struck thee, *panjee jarossim.*
we struck them, *ameen jarensŭn.*
you struck us, *uttmeen jaressiman.*
they struck you, *panjean jarendisan.*
I saved him, *amāh pendómus.*
thou savest me, *alto pendōrim* (*ŭlto*).
he saved thee, *panjee pendōsim.*
we saved them, *ameen pendensŭn.*
you saved us, *uttmeen pendessiman.*
they saved you, *panjeean pendendisan.*
he entered the house, *creeama nŭngarda.*
he came out of the house, *killda creeak.*
he journeyed yesterday to . . . *khoodj gara . . .*
he will journey to-morrow, *soobagish ttŭry.*
he is going just now, *hee sŭm gara.*
he went and returned, *gara wayra.*

1. *ĕka.*
2. *doothee.*
3. *trōn.*
4. *ishttār.*
5. *pŭnch* or *pŭnj.*
6. *shaysh.*
7. *hautt.*
8. *heishtt.*
9. *nah.*
10. *dās* or *dhās.*
11. *dăsiak* or *dhāsyak.*
12. *dhāsdea.*
13. *dhāstron.*
14. *dhāshthâr.*
15. *dhāspŭnj.*
16. *dhashaysh.*
17. *dhashautt.*
18. *dhas-heishtt.*
19. *dhas-oo-nah.*
20. *weest.*
21. *weesiâk* or *wistteeka.*
22. *weesdidee.*
23. *weestron.*
24. *weesttar.*
25. *weespŭnj.*
26. *weeshash.*
27. *wees-hautt.*
28. *wees-hajtt* or *-heishtt.*
29. *weest-oo-nāh.*
30. *see.*
31. *see-eeka* or *see-wa-eeka.*
32. *see-didee.*
33. *see-tron.*
34. *seeshttâr.*
35. *see-pŭnj.*
36. *see-shaysh* or *see-wa-shaysh.*
37. *see-hautt* or *see-wa-hautt.*
38. *see-wa-heishtt.*
39. *see-oo-nah.*
40. *chill.*
41. *chilleeyak* or *chilliayk.*
42. *chill-didee.*
43. *chill-tron.*
44. *chill-ishttar.*
45. *chill-oo-punj.*
46. *chill-oo-shaysh.*
47. *chill-oo-hautt.*
48. *chill-oo-heishtt.*
49. *chill-oo-nah.*
50. *paynjāh* or *painja.*
51. *painja-weeka.*
52. *painja-oo-didee.*
53. *painja-oo-tron.*
54. *painja-oo-ishttar.*
55. *painja-oo-pŭnj.*
56. *painja-oo-shaysh.*
57. *painja-oo-hautt.*
58. *painja-oo-heishtt.*
59. *painja-oo-nāh.*
60. *tron-weest.*
61. *tron-weest-wa-eeka.*
62. *tron-weest-wa-didee.*
63. *tron-weest-wa-tron.*
64. *tron-weest-washttār.*
65. *tron-weest-wa-punj.*
66. *tron-weest-wa-shaysh.*
67. *tron-weest-wa-hhautt.*
68. *tron-weest-wa-hhaysht* or *-hhasht.*
69. *tron-weest-wa-nāh.*
70. *tron-weest-wa-dhas* or *dhŭs.*
71. *tron-weest-wa-dhŭs-weeka.*
72. *tron-weest-wa-dhŭs-wa-didee.*
73. *tron-weest-wa-dhŭs-wa-tron*, etc.
80. *ishttŭrweesht.*
81. *ishttŭrweesh-weeka.*
82. *ishttŭr-weesh-wa-didee.*
83. *ishttŭr-weesh-wa-tron*, etc.
90. *ishttarweeshtt-wa-dhŭs.*
91. *ishttarweeshtt-wa-dhŭs-weeka.*
92. *ishttarweeshtt-wa-dhŭs-didee.*
100. *ssŭdd.*
101. *ssŭdd-weeka.*
110. *ssŭdd-wa-dhŭs* or *-dŭss* or *-dass.*
111. *ssŭdd-wa-dŭss-yayk.*
112. *ssŭdd-wa-dŭss-dee.*
113. *ssŭdd-wa-dŭss-tron.*
114. *ssŭdd-wa-dashttār.*

115. *sudd-wa-dŭss-punj.*
116. *sudd-wa-duss-shaysh.*
117. *sudd-wa-duss-hautt.*
118. *sudd-wa-duss-hayshtt.*
119. *sudd-wa-duss-noo.*
120. *sud-wa-weest.*
200. *dee ssudd.*
300. *tron ssudd.*
400. *ishttar sudd.*
500. *punj ssudd.*
600. *shaysh ssudd.*
700. *hautt ssudd.*
800. *hayshtt ssudd.*
900. *nah sudd.*
1000. *dhass-sudd.*
2000. *weest-ssudd.*
3000. *see-ssudd.*
4000. *chill-ssudd.*
5000. *paynja-ssudd.*
6000. *tron-weest-ssudd.*
7000. *tron-weest-wa-dass ssudd.*
8000. *ishttar-weeshtt-ssudd.*
9000. *ishttar-weeshtt-wa-duss ssudd.*
10,000. *ssudd-ssudd.*

Much might be written of this method of numeration, which strikes me as something far beyond our European Gypsies: much too, of the likeness and unlikeness of the dialect generally to those that are spoken west of the Bosporus. But on both points I trust that we may look for information from some Orientalist more qualified to speak than myself.

FRANCIS HINDES GROOME.

VII.—BEGINNING OF THE IMMIGRATION OF THE GYPSIES INTO WESTERN EUROPE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

FIRST PERIOD, 1417—1438 (*End*).

WHAT had become of them since they numbered about two hundred at Rome, that is to say, at Forli, in the month of August 1422, and a hundred at least at Bâle at a later date of the same year? During five years we lose sight of them; for this long interval, which I had already noticed in 1844, has not been filled up subsequently, as I have been able to do for others of less considerable duration, by documents that have come to my knowledge.[1] Certainly this gap will not always exist; we are still so imperfectly informed concerning all the countries of the West, with the exception of Holland! This remark allows me at least to notice that after having visited the Low Countries (including Hainault) in 1420, 1421, and May 1422, they abandoned this region, where we shall not meet with them again until 1429 and later. It is, then, outside of the Netherlands,

[1] I do not think it necessary to take account of a present made, in 1424, at Deventer (province of Overyssel), to "a Heyden become a Christian" (Dirks, p. 57, note 3). It is not known whether a pagan of some kind or other or a Tsigan is meant here. If it was a Tsigan, this would be the first time, as far as I know, that the name of *Heiden* was applied *officially* in Holland to the Gypsies; but it is probable that this remark would be better placed in 1429 *à propos* of another entry in the accounts of the same town of Deventer.

and probably also of the neighbouring countries, that the documents which would more or less fill up this gap may be found.

Our Gypsies, as though they were aware of this long eclipse, reappeared in 1427 in unaccustomed splendour. It is at Paris that we meet them again. They arrived there at the time of the domination of the English and the desolation of France; but the weather was magnificent, and, after a long period of cold and wet, the sun shone out with Oriental warmth. If I add that "in *ce bel Aoust* a hundred good plums, none of which were rotten, could be bought for a penny, and all other fruits in abundance," it will be easy to understand that no arrival of Gypsies ever took place under happier auspices. It must be added that they found at Paris a chronicler worthy of transmitting to posterity the recital of their first visit to the capital of France; and they themselves seem to have wished to give a particular solemnity to this event.

The first who penetrated into the town, 17th August, were a duke, an earl (of whose names we are unfortunately ignorant),[1] and ten other horsemen—twelve persons in all; and it was only twelve days later that the bulk of the band, numbering a hundred individuals, men, women, and children, made its appearance to the north of Paris. They were detained there without being allowed to enter into the town,[2] and, as we are about to see, they remained ten days in the village where they had been confined, notwithstanding the complaints made against them by the surrounding inhabitants. It is presumable that the twelve first-mentioned personages had joined them in this village; however, the chronicler does not give us any information on this point. We will let him speak for himself:—

"On the Sunday after the middle of August, which was the xviith day of August of the said year one thousand iiii hundred xxvii, came to Paris xii penitents as they called themselves, that is to say, a duke, an earl, and ten men all on horseback, who said they were good Christians, and were from Lower Egypt; and said, more-

[1] Notwithstanding its inestimable value, the recital of the chronicler usually called the *Bourgeois de Paris* leaves much to be desired. One would like to know where and how the first twelve horsemen who presented themselves were lodged in the city, what they did in Paris during the twelve days they remained there alone, what chiefs led the bulk of the band, etc., etc.

[2] We know that this frequently occurred, and perhaps it was to obviate in part this inconvenience that the twelve Gypsy notables of knightly pretensions had come on before. It must be added that Paris was then a prey to the divisions of the English and the Burgundians, and lived in perpetual fear of some surprise on the part of the Armagnacs, that is to say, of the French party; moreover, the town was surrounded to a distance of twelve or fifteen leagues, and even more, by thieves and robbers, "composed in part of poor gentlemen almost as miserable as the unhappy peasants they plundered." (See *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, ed. Tuetey, pp. 206, 218 *et passim*.)

over, that they had been Christians formerly, and that it was not long since the Christians had conquered them and all their country, and made them all become Christians, or put to death those who would not; those who were baptized were lords of the country as before, and promised to be good and loyal, and to keep the faith of Jesus Christ unto the death. And they had a king and queen in their country, who remained in their domains because they were Christianised.

"*Item*, True, as they said, a certain time after they had taken the Christian faith, the Saracens came and attacked them, and then, as they were but little firm in our faith with very little hope [of being able to resist], without scarcely enduring the war, and without doing their duty towards their country, defending it very little, they surrendered to their enemies and became Saracens as before, and denied our Lord.

"*Item*, It happened afterwards that the Christians, such as the Emperor of Germany, the King of Poland, and other lords, when they knew that they had thus falsely and without great difficulty abandoned our faith, and that they had so soon become Saracens and idolaters, threw themselves upon them and soon vanquished them, as though they thought that they would be left in their country as before to become Christians. But the Emperor and the other lords, by a great deliberation in council, said that they should never hold land in their country unless the Pope consented, and that they should go to the Holy Father at Rome; and there they went all, old and young, with great pain to the children. When they were there, they made a general confession of their sins. When the Pope had heard their confession, he gave them as penance, after a great deliberation in council, to go for vii. years following about the world, without sleeping in a bed; and, that they might have some comfort for their expense, ordered, as was said, that every bishop and mitred abbot should give them one payment of ten '*livres tournois*'; and he gave them letters making mention of this to the prelates of the Church, and gave them his benediction; so they departed. And they had been five years about the world before they came to Paris.[1]

"And they came the xviith day of August in the year one thousand iiii. hundred and xxvii., the above-named twelve; and on the day of Saint John the Beheaded (29th August) the commoner people came, who were not allowed to enter Paris, but were lodged by

[1] This recital of the antecedents of the immigrants is the most detailed that has been collected. It is well to compare it with that of the chronicler of Bologna (July 1422), which is short, but still very precise, and which presents several different readings.

authority at La Chappelle-Sainct-Denis;[1] and they were not more in all, men, women, and children, than about a hundred or a hundred and twenty, and when they left their country they were a thousand or xii. hundred, but the remainder had died on the way, and their king and their queen; and those who were alive had hope of still having worldly goods, for the Holy-Father had promised them that he would give them a good and fertile land to inhabit, but that they must finish their penance with a good heart.

"*Item*, Whilst they were at La Chappelle more people were never seen to go to the benediction of the Landit[2] than came from Paris, from Sainct Denis, and from the neighbourhood of Paris, to see them. And it is true that the children, boys and girls, were as clever as could be.[3] And most and nearly all had both ears pierced, and in each ear a silver ring, or two in each, and they said it was a sign of nobility in their country.

"*Item*, The men were very black, their hair was frizzled; the women, the ugliest that could be seen, and the blackest; all had '*le visage deplaié*,'[4] hair as black as a horse's tail, as only dress an old '*flaussoie*,'[5] very coarse, and fastened on the shoulder by a band of cloth or a cord, and underneath a poor '*roquet*' or shift for all covering. In short, they were the poorest creatures ever seen in France in the memory of man. And, notwithstanding their poverty, there were witches in their company who looked into people's hands and told what had happened to them, or would happen, and sowed discord in several marriages, for they said (to the husband), 'Your wife has played you false,' or to the wife, 'Your husband has played you false.' And what was worse, whilst they were speaking to folks, by magic or otherwise, or by the enemy in hell, or by dexterity and skill, it was said they emptied people's purses and put into theirs. But in truth, I went there three or four times to speak to them, but I never perceived that I lost a penny, nor did I ever see them look

[1] A village to the north of Paris, on the road to Saint-Denis.

[2] The famous fair of the *Landit*, or rather *Lendit*, was still held at this time (1427) in the field thus named, which was situated between the town of Saint Denis and the village of La Chapelle. After 1444, the same fair, retaining the same name, was held in the town of Saint Denis itself. It opened on the Wednesday before St. Barnaby's Day (11th June), and lasted several days. (See Littré, at the word *Lendit*.) It was this opening, no doubt, that was accompanied by a *benediction*—that is to say, by a religious ceremony—which drew a great many people together.

[3] It appears that they performed feats of skill and strength. This is the oldest testimony we possess of this sort of Gypsy industry.

[4] The usual meaning of this old French word *deplaié* is *couvert de plaies* (covered with wounds), but I doubt whether it is applicable here.

[5] Bed covering; in the South of France, *flassado*. It is the same thing as the *flassart* of Tournai (May 1422) and the *schiavina* of Bologna (July 1422). See the *Journal* of Oct 1889, p. 336, note 1.

into a hand, but the people said so everywhere, so that the news came to the Bishop of Paris, who went there, and took with him a Friar of the Minors named Little Jacobin, who by command of the Bishop made a fine preaching, excommunicating all those who had believed them and shown their hands. And they were obliged to depart; and they departed on the day of Our-Lady of September (the 8th of September), and went away towards Pontoise."[1]

The fine preaching destined to deter the inhabitants from consulting witches, and the excommunication pronounced against those who had committed this fault, were not sufficient for the ecclesiastical authority. On the following Sunday, 14th of September, general processions were ordered to expiate the sin of those who had shown their hands to the Egyptians.[2]

Nineteen days after their departure from Paris (27th September), we find a part of these Egyptians at Amiens: they were but about forty, led by an earl,[3] the Earl Thomas, who is here named for the first time. Their arrival surprises the Mayor and aldermen of the town, who, not being yet acquainted with these strangers, assemble in extraordinary and urgent meeting to deliberate upon the question of their entrance into the town: in consequence, they summon the said Earl Thomas and two of his retainers to the hall of the aldermen, in order to question them; and, on seeing the Pope's letters, which were presented to them, offer the best reception to these travellers. The *délibération* of the 27th September 1427, which I here translate, relates this very well:—

"Sire Mile de Berry,[4] the Mayor Jehan de Beauval, and other aldermen, being in the said hall (*eschevinage*), because a certain Thomas, earl, accompanied by forty people of his own country, which is very strange and far off, is come to the entrance of the gate of the said town, named the gate of Beauvais, and requested that he and several others might enter into the said town and be lodged there as passers-by and going to the country of Flanders. The said Thomas, with two others, was sent for to the same hall, and he was questioned as to who he

[1] *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (1405-1449), published from the manuscripts of Rome and Paris, by Alexander Tuetey (Paris: Champion, 1881), in 8vo of xliv. and 415 pp.; pp. 219-221. This excellent edition annuls the preceding ones, of which I have said a few words in my preceding article (No. for October, note 2 of p. 327). However, in the passage which interests us, the text of the Buchon edition (1827), which I followed in 1844, differs little from this excepting in changes of orthography.

[2] "Veneris xii. Septembris, die dominica proxima, fient processiones generales ad Jacobitas pro facto illorum qui exhibuerunt manus suas illis extraneis de Egipto ad divinandum pluraque petebant ab eis."—*Registres Capitulaires de Notre-Dame* (*Arch. Nat.* ll. 216, fol. 205) quoted by the learned editor, M. Tuetey.

[3] It must be recollected that the *Bourgeois de Paris* had signalised a duke and *an earl*.

[4] The Bailiff, I suppose; see following note.

was, from whence he came, and whither he was bound. The same showed letters from our Holy Father the Pope, by which our said Holy Father certified that, because the said Thomas had not chosen to deny the Christian faith, nor consented to believe the contrary, he was driven out of his country, and our Holy Father demanded that he should be tolerated, and allowed to pass on his journey which he intended to make, and that alms should be bestowed on him and those of his company, to help them to live, and that to those who did so, our said Holy Father granted indulgence and pardon of their sins.

"Duly considered the tenor of the said letters, it was decided to suffer the said Thomas and those of his company to enter into the said town and sojourn there two or three days; and besides, that as pious alms should be given to the said Thomas and to those of his company, out of the moneys of the town, the sum of eight 'livres parisis.'"[1]

This Deliberation of the assembly of aldermen, held extraordinarily with ringing of a bell in the hall of the bailiwick, is completed by an article of the *Register of Accounts of the Town of Amiens* (*côté* 22), which proves the making over on the same day of the above-named sum to "Thomas, earl of Little Egypt," to help him and his people, to the number of forty persons or thereabouts, all excluded and driven out of the county of Egypt by infidels . . . seeing that by letters Our Holy Father the Pope gives, and has given, great indulgences and pardons to those who give alms to the said Thomas and to those of his company."[2]

Without reproducing *in extenso* this article of accounts, I have been anxious to extract from it all the phrases which, even in repeating all that we had already learnt from the Deliberation, add something to the colouring of the recital. For example, "the county" of Egypt appears to me rather curious. But the capital interest of these two documents—of the first especially—is to inform us with a certain precision of the contents of the Pontifical letters. As it was easy to foresee, the essential idea in the explanation of the wandering life of these "Egyptians" is the same here as in the Imperial letter of 1417; it is not, however, formally question here, as in the recital of the

[1] "Echevinage tenu à son de cloque à la *male maison* (salle du bailliage) le 27e jour de Septembre 1427. Ordinairement c'était à *l'hôtel des claquiers* (ou mairie) que s'assemblaient le *maieur* et les échevins d'Amiens." Note de M. Dusevel.

[2] The publication of these two pieces, followed by three others certifying other visits from people of Little Egypt to the town of Amiens in 1445 (this one is particularly interesting), in 1450, and in 1480, is due to M. Dusevel. The whole has appeared in the *Revue des Sociétés Savantes des Départements*, 5th series, vol. iv. July-August 1872; *Paris, Imp. Nat.*, in 8vo, pp. 151-154.

Bourgeois de Paris, of penance and of pilgrimage, nor of the duration of this pilgrimage, which was to be of seven years (beginning in 1422, after the Pontifical letter had replaced the Imperial letter). Evidently one must complete the two informations, one by the other. What would be strange if the text from Amiens were taken literally, is that the Pontifical letter appears to have been given to Earl Thomas personally. Unless it can be supposed, which is not likely, that the Pope had already granted a second letter to some Gypsies,[1] this interpretation is contradicted by what we already know, and by what we have still to learn. Earl Thomas can have been but a lieutenant of the two Dukes who went to Rome; and, as such, he was the bearer when at Amiens of one of the originals, or of an authentic copy of the Pope's letters. We are here authorised to think that there already existed more than one copy of this important document.

The Earl Thomas had said at Amiens that he and his people were going "to the country of Flanders." A year and a half later, we meet in this region with a "great *Earl* of Little Egypt," with about sixty people of his country, who have every appearance of being the same as those of Amiens. It is in the town of Tournai, already visited by the Gypsies in September 1421 and in May 1422, that they reappear on the 23rd of March 1429, on which day the following placard was published in the town:—

"Let no person whatsoever do or say to the great Earl of Little Egypt or his people, who, to the number of 60 or thereabouts [have been] driven out of their country by the infidels, and who, by licence of the magistrates (Messieurs de la loy) of this town, intend to sojourn therein for four or five days, any injury, wrong, or displeasure, in body or in goods, in any way whatsoever, under pain of being put into the prisons of the town, and banished at the discretion of the said magistrates, but keep them peaceable by the giving of alms (if one has this devotion) to such as require them."

And the next day, 24th of March 1429, the "*consaux*" (consuls, aldermen) of Tournai accorded to the great Earl of Little Egypt and his people, a succour of eight "*livres tournois,*" and sent them besides eight lots of wine for their chief, three measures of wheat, four casks of beer, fifty faggots, and two hundred herrings (Accounts of 1429-1430).[2]

[1] If I enter upon the *second period*, we shall see, what is astonishing, that in 1439 the Pope again granted to some Gypsies a bull, enjoining them as a penance to travel about the world during six years. But I do not think there is any trace of another Pontifical letter between 1422 and 1439.

[2] *Extraits des anciens registres des Consaux de la Ville de Tournai*, published by H. Vanderbroeck, archivist of the town (work already quoted), vol. ii., Tournai 1863, pp. 276-277.

One sees that the reception is still very cordial in this town, where we know, notwithstanding, by the recital of the *Chronique de Flandre*, May 1422, that the people from Little Egypt could not have left a very good recollection of themselves. Evidently the recommendations of the Pope, and the promised indulgences, had aroused a new interest in their favour. But if the present band is still that of Earl Thomas, and if it had been travelling over this region for a year and a half, it is to be supposed also, seeing it was so well treated, that it conducted itself better than others had done elsewhere, and even at Tournai itself five years before. The leader of this detachment had perhaps comprehended that it was to the advantage of himself and his people to observe a certain discipline.

In the same year, 1429, we find the Gypsies in the Netherlands, and first in the town of Deventer (Province of Overyssel), which they had already visited in 1420. But this first document is not very explicit. We only learn from it that the town then paid in all ten *plakken* to a certain "Gosen for having cleaned out the *wanthuys*,[1] in which the people from Little Egypt had lodged, and to a guide named Hubert, for having led these *Heidens*, and taken them to Wie" (Wijhe).[2]

Thus, in 1429, as in 1420, the town of Deventer took upon itself to lodge these strangers, and each of the two places in which they lodged required a thorough cleaning. On these two occasions also the town gave them a guide when they left, and it was not probably out of pure obligingness, but, no doubt, to be sure that they had left the territory.

It will be remarked that this document appears to be the first in the Low Countries of the North where the people of Little Egypt are called *Heidens* (Pagans), a name which they have retained in that country. M. Molhuijsen concludes from it that their pretensions to being Christians no longer found credence. I doubt that this should be the only, or even the principal, reason for the adoption of this new name. I remark, first of all, that the Pontifical letter of 1422 had aroused a fresh interest in the Christian world in favour of the Gypsies, and that, in fact, the greater number of the documents that have come to our knowledge, and which precede or closely follow

[1] *Wanthuys*—From a note by M. Molhuijsen, it was a house in which foreign merchants deposited their fishing tackle, which they thus secured from taxation. This house was situated near the old Town Hall, at the corner of Polstraat Street; it became later on the Town Hall itself.

[2] *De Heidens in Overijssel*, by P. C. Molhuijsen, in *Overijsselsche Almanack* for the year 1840, Deventer 1839, 12mo (pp. 56-71), p. 61. Reproduced by Dirks, 1850, p. 57.

that of Deventer in 1429, show the favourable reception they still met with almost everywhere. It must not be forgotten, in the next place, that this name of *Heidens* (Pagans) had been given them first in other countries where they were considered as *converted heathens*, very worthy of interest. I think it very probable that the same thing had happened amongst *the people* in the Netherlands, and that this popular appellation ended by taking very easily in the Dutch documents the place of that of *people of Little Egypt*, which had been at first their official name since it was the one they themselves adopted, but which may have become even more liable to suspicion than their quality of Christians.

M. Molhuijsen has done wrong in not noting the date of the month and the day to which the document we are now noticing refers; and this is the more unfortunate as we have three others of the same year. The sole reason I have for placing this one provisionally after Tournai (24th March 1429), and before the three other documents I have just announced, is that the latter, better dated, belong to the end of the year, and that there is more margin between the end of March and the middle of October than between any other parts of the year.

However it may be, we learn as follows from the accounts of the town of Utrecht, in the year 1429 :—

"The Thursday after *Remigii*[1] (the 6th October, if I mistake not), given to the *Duke* of Lower Egypt (Nederegypten), who had come into our town with the *Heidenen*, having a written permission from the Pope to visit the Christian land, iv. pots of wine, making vi. *taken* (another measure), at xxiv. groats the *take*, makes iv. livres xvi. schellings."[2]

What is especially wanting here, together with the name of the duke, is some sort of an indication respecting the number of the *Heidens*.

Less than two months after, it is not a duke but an *Earl* of Little Egypt, whose name is equally unrecorded, who receives from the town of Arnheim (Guelders) gifts of divers nature, which lead one to presume that his followers were rather more numerous: "*Item*, on the eve of St Andrews (29th Nov.), to the Earl of Little Egypt, with his company, to the honour of God, vi. florins of Arnheim (vi. Arn. gulde). *Item*, to the same Earl, and to the heathen women

[1] This evidently relates to the *translation of St. Remy*, which falls on the 1st of October.
[2] Dirks, work quoted of 1850, p. 110.

(heidenschen), to the honour of God, half a muid of wheaten bread, costing i. florin of Arnheim and ii. blanks. *Item*, to the same, a barrel of hops, costing xl. blanks. *Item*, again to the same, a hundred herrings, costing L blanks."[1]

It appears that this band, on leaving Arnheim, moved towards the south; for soon after, if the incomplete account of Baron Sloet is to be credited,[2] it is signalised at Bommel, a small town not far removed. He says that according to an article in the Accounts of the bailiff or seneschal (*Ambtman*) of Bommel and of the Tielerward, a messenger was sent to the Duke of Guelders to inform him that "the Heidenen had been fighting among themselves as far as Bommel." It is not without reason, no doubt, that M. Sloet, and, copying from him, M. Dirks, identifying the band of Arnheim with that of Bommel, give this fact as following the other; but it would have been much more clear if the precise dates of the two documents had been given; I have been able to establish the date of the first, but that of the second remains unknown to me.

It is again in the Low Countries that we meet the Gypsies at the beginning of the year 1430, but this time it is in the south-western province of Zealand, which is entirely composed of isles, a country that could not have been easy of access to the Gypsies in these times, as M. Dirks remarks (1850, p. 128). It is even in the most distant isle, that of Walcheren, that the town of *Middleburg*, which then received them, is found.[3] Here is what we read in the manuscript Accounts of this town, under the year 1430:—

"*Item*, the 21st day of February, to the Duke of Little Egypt, who had come here to receive alms, having letters from the Pope, which allow him to travel over the land for five years (to beg), which he

[1] This document was published, but *without any other date than that of the year*, by G. Van Hasselt, in his pamphlet *Stof voor eene Geldersche Historie der Heidenen*, Arnhem 1805, in 8vo of 79 pages, p. 25; and it has been reproduced in the same manner by M. Dirks, 1850, p. 41. After having had the whole of the pamphlet of Van Hasselt translated in 1849, I was struck with this regrettable omission, which allowed me to hope that perhaps the original register also contained the name of the Earl of Little Egypt omitted by Van Hasselt. Upon this last point my hope was ill founded; but, in December 1862, thanks to some exceedingly obliging friends, I obtained from M. Nijhoff, the learned archivist of Arnheim, the complete text of the document, which has allowed of my re-establishing the *date of the month and the day*. I learned, on the same occasion, of the existence of M. Dirks' book, and of a contribution by the Baron Sloet in the *Bijdragen* . . . of M. Nijhoff (1846), which has been made use of by M. Dirks.

[2] *Contributions to the History of the Heidens in Guelderland* (in Dutch) by the Baron Sloet in the *Bijdragen voor Vanderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde* of M. Nijhoff, 5th vol., 2d part, 1846, pp. 94, 95. Account reproduced by M. Dirks, 1850, p. 42, text and note 2, with the sole date of the year 1429.

[3] It is to be presumed, however, that it was from Dutch Flanders that they passed, directly into this island, having thus but one arm of the sea to cross.

could not have done on his own authority: given xx. schellings gr." [1]

I follow as closely as I can the chronological order, without endeavouring to establish between these bands identifications for which the elements are wanting.

"The fifth day of the month of June [1430], came to Metz several Saracens from the country of Egypt, who said they were baptized; and there were as many as a hundred and fifty, as well men as women and little children: and as they said, there was a duke and two knights, and they were very ugly people." [2] It is not said here that this visit of the Saracens of Egypt was the first that the town of Metz received, and it is probable that Lorraine, like Alsace, had not waited till 1430 to make acquaintance with the Gypsies.

In the same year, 1430, the Accounts of the town of Leyden, under the rubric "Divers accounts," without date of day, bear: "As the Duke of Egypt of the Heidens desired a succour from the town, a quart of malvoisey costing vi. florins was fetched." [3] I suppose this was not the sole "succour" that the town of Leyden then accorded to the Duke of Egypt. It is not presumable either that this duke should have then been alone at Leyden.[4]

It is again a duke, whose name is absent, as well as any indication as to the number of people who accompanied him, whom we meet with at the beginning of the year 1431, in the town of Middleburg, which he himself, or his colleague, had visited in February 1430. The Accounts of this town, for the year 1431, bear: "*Item*, the xvith day of January, given by the Burgomaster and the aldermen to the *Duke of Egypt*, because he was the bearer of letters from our

[1] Dirks, 1850, p. 128.

[2] *Les Chroniques de la ville de Metz*, collected by Huguenin; Metz, 1838, 1 vol. in large 8vo, p. 169.

[3] In the absence of any other date than that of year, the present made might be placed as well before the passage of the Gypsies at Metz in the month of June as afterwards.

[4] *Bulletin* (*Kronijk*) *of the Historical Society of Utrecht* (in Dutch), an. 1850, p. 412. This volume contains, p. 338 and p. 412, extracts of the accounts of the town of Leyden, concerning the sojourn of the Heidens in this town, published by M. Rammelman Elzevier, with the exception of an extract of the accounts of the town of *Utrecht*, concerning Duke Michael, in 1439, which precedes, p. 412, the extracts of the accounts of Leyden. M. Dirks in his supplement (*Bijdragen* de Nijhoff, vol. x., 1855) had contented himself, pp. 271-272, with referring the reader to this publication, but a learned Dutch gentleman, M. Sarncombe Sanders, living at Utrecht, had the kindness, in 1865, to send me the literal translation of the pages of the *Bulletin de la Société historique d'Utrecht* which concern the Heidens. This is not the only useful communication that I owe to his great kindness. And I obtained the whole through the medium of another Dutch gentleman who was living in Paris (he has since died), Baron de Golstein, to whom I had been introduced by a common friend, and who at the same time, with admirable patience, translated with me the numerous passages of M. Dirks' book which were the most important for me to know. I owed a grateful acknowledgment to these obliging auxiliaries.

gracious lord of Burgundy,[1] iii. florins of Philip (of Burgundy), which makes 9 schellings and 3 groats."[2]

The too summary documents which follow will take us alternately from the Netherlands into Germany, and from Germany into the Netherlands.

According to an old Saxon author, it is in 1432 that the first Gypsies showed themselves at Erfurt.[3] It was not, however, their first appearance in Saxony, for we have met them at Leipzig as early as 1418. It remains to be known whether the Gypsies who are signalised to us in 1432 formed part of the group which had been travelling over the West since 1417, or whether they were new-comers.

The same question may be asked concerning the Gypsies who are signalised to us for the third time in Bavaria in 1433.[4]

The first fact that I meet with in 1434 is but a small individual one, and of an ambiguous nature.

The Accounts already mentioned of the town of Leyden state in the year 1434: "To Albert the Heiden, given for his new year (probably then towards the 1st of January) xx livres."[5] Is it question here of a *heathen* of some kind or other, or of a Gypsy? As the name of *Heiden* had been officially given to the Gypsies in the Netherlands for some years,[6] the second alternative appears at first sight the most

[1] Philip of Burgundy.

[2] Dirks, 1850, p. 128.

[3] "Uud (MCCCCXXXII.) worden czu ersten di Czigauner czu Erfort gesehen." *Excerpta Saxonica, Misnica et Thuringiaca* ex Monachi Pirnensis, seu vero nomine Johannis Lindneri seu Tillani onomastico autographo, quod extat in Bibliotheca senatoria Lipsiensi, in the *Scriptores rerum german. præcipue Saxonicarum* of Burchardus Menckenius; Lipsiæ, 1728-1730, 3 vols. in fol., vol. ii., col. 1553.

[4] "*Item*, eodem anno (1433), Hungari peregrinati sunt ad Aquisgrani."—"Eodem etiam anno, venerunt ad terram nostram quidam de populo Ciganorum, vulgariter Cigewner nominati." Andreæ presbyteri Ratisb. *Chronicon* (universale) up to the time of the Emperor Sigismund and of the Pope Martin 5th, à Jo. Chraft prædicatore Cambrensi *interpolatum* et usque ad an. 1490, continuatum,—in the *Corpus histor. medii ævi* of Eccard, in fol. t. i. p. 2164. The two or three above lines are certainly written by Andrew of Ratisbon, contemporary of the fact to which they relate; for they are to be found textually and under the same date, in the *Chronicon de Ducibus Bavariæ*, written by the same Andrew "à Christo nato ad an. 1439, quo vivebat," and which has been continued down to 1486 by Bauholtz, etc. "Edita omnia à M. FREHER, cum notis." Ambergae, 1602, in 4to. I might quote another edition of 1685 of the same chronicle containing the same passage, but I prefer to observe in passing that Freher, in one of his notes placed at the end of the volume (p. 224), makes the Gypsies descend from the Athingans. One sees, besides, that the priest Andrew of Ratisbon, to whom we owe three indications (in 1424, 1426, and 1433,—the first very important) concerning various arrivals of the Gypsies in Bavaria, has occupied himself a great deal with the history of his country, and I remark in ending that, according to his countryman Aventin, who merited himself the surname of the Bavarian Herodotus, the Bavarians called him their Titus-Livius.

[5] Bulletin (*Kronijk*) of the Historical Society of Utrecht, an. 1850 (see note 4 of my p. 37).

[6] See my remarks on the name of *Heidens*, *à propos* of the document of Deventer, 1429, pp. 34, 35.

likely. Notwithstanding, the context appears to indicate that this Heiden Albert had settled at Leyden, and lived there on the charity of the town and of the inhabitants; which was not quite impossible, but which would, however, be rather surprising on the part of a Gypsy of this period.

From the Netherlands we pass to Frankfort-on-the-Main, which the Gypsies had already visited in June 1418, and where we now learn by the *Book of Accounts of the Town* that, "in 1434, at Easter-time, 8 schellings were paid to a woman for keeping the *Heidens* who were here, and for giving them straw."[1]

We have just gone over some years during which our documents are very poor and rather incoherent; and now during four years they are about to fail us altogether, that is to say, down to the year 1438, which I have adopted as the term of this *First Period*, and as the initial date of the *Second*. It is to the year 1438 that I think I may refer a document, dated in a rather uncertain manner, but which appears to me to mark sufficiently the separation of the two periods.

This is a Bavarian document, not, as I formerly thought, relating to Bohemia as well as Bavaria, but evidently applying to a new group of Gypsies, probably rather numerous, who, unlike those who had previously arrived in Bavaria, made themselves known in the same year in one of the countries of the extreme west, as I think may be inferred from facts to be brought together further on. As this document naturally belongs to the commencement of the second period rather than to the first, I shall not dwell on it any further here.

I am, besides, desirous of closing this *First Period* without further delay with the remarks which appear to me to be suggested by the facts I have been able to gather together.

In the first place, if I compare my present study with that of 1844, I observe that the number of facts[2] come to my knowledge has more than doubled. But I am far less proud of this result than humbled to see so many blanks still subsisting—such as those we still meet with between 1422 and 1427 (for the valuable information collected

[1] *Deutsches Bürgerthum im Mittelalter*, by Dr. G. L. Kriegk, archivist of the town of Frankfort-on-the-Main, t. i. pp. 149, 150 (work already quoted in my first article, vol. i. pp. 207, 208). It will be remarked that Dr. Kriegk gives the summaries and not the textual extracts of the articles concerning the Gypsies, whether in the Accounts of the town or in the Books of the Burgomasters of Frankfort.

[2] I say *facts*, to the number of about thirty, and not *documents*, which are more numerous; for, to say nothing of those which I had collected for Switzerland (1418), the value of which is put in question by the testimony of the contemporary Justinger (1419?), nor of those relative to Strasbourg and Alsace for the same year, 1418, Rufus has been added to Cornerius (Hanseatic Towns, 1417); and in several places (Tournai, 1421 and 1429; Arnheim and Bommel, Nov. 1429) the documents are double.

at Ratisbon in 1424 and 1426 remains outside our proper limits), and at the end of this first period, to say nothing of the poverty of the documents for certain years. The contributions from certain countries —from all, indeed, excepting the Low Countries of the North—remain very scanty, and I remark in particular the insufficiency of the documents collected in the numerous German countries, where it is to be supposed, however, that the Gypsies of this first period must have often sojourned, and where one might have hoped for information, all the more abundant inasmuch as historical research is there more widely diffused.

It is very probable that some published documents may have escaped me, and I once more appeal to the kindness of those who can point out any such to me.[1] But I am more and more convinced that a greater number of unpublished documents remain to be discovered than those with which we are already acquainted, and it is clear that these documents must consist more especially in extracts from Deliberations and Accounts of Town Councils.[2] In my study of 1844, all the documents of this First Period were passages of chronicles, save one, the deliberation of the Council of the town of Sisteron (1st October 1419). On the contrary, in the score of new documents contained in my present work—some of which refer to *facts* which are not new —there are only five or six passages from chronicles (Rufus, Justinger, Trausch, the *Chronique de Flandre*, the *Diarium Sexennale* of Andrew of Ratisbon for the years 1424 and 1426), with which I ought to have been acquainted formerly, with the exception of one or two.[3] All my other new documents are extracts from the Deliberations or Accounts of the Town Councils, and such like.

It must be added that, out of the fourteen facts revealed to us by this new and very fertile source, eight are furnished by Holland,[4] that is to say, more than half of those collected in all the countries of

[1] I have given some explanations on this subject, with my address (12 Rue de l'Odéon, Paris), in my *Introduction*, No. for April 1889, p. 196.

[2] The *Deliberations* and *Accounts* of the town councils are often confounded; they sometimes form, especially in towns of some importance, two different series of registers. To this double and fertile source may sometimes be added an article in the *accounts of some bailiff* or seneschal (see the occurrence at Bommel, end of November 1429), sometimes a *placard* (as at Tournai, 23d March 1429). In my general remarks I unite these exceptional documents with the preceding.

[3] Viz., the valuable passage of the *Chronique de Flandre* (towards May 1422), the publication of which dates but from 1856; and perhaps the short passage from the *Chronique de Strasbourg* (manuscript) of Trausch, the ignorance respecting which was the more excusable forty-five years ago, inasmuch that even now it does not appear to me easy to be perfectly clear as to the value of the few lines contained in it concerning the apparition of the Gypsies at Strasbourg in 1418.

[4] The six others are derived from Frankfort-on-the-Main (June 1418 and 1434, about Easter), Mâcon (24th August 1419), Tournai (30th September 1421 and 23d March 1429), Amiens (27th September 1427).

Western Europe. It is this which authorises my saying that more documents remain to be discovered than those with which we are acquainted; for, even supposing (what we cannot well know now) that the Netherlands particularly attracted the Gypsies of this First Period,[1] and supposing equally (what for my part I am not more sure of) that Holland, which has now furnished almost everything that can be expected from it, should be one of the countries of all Western Europe where the Deliberations and town Accounts, going so far back as the beginning of the xv[th] century, have been the best preserved, the disproportion is such as to lead me to think that the field for future discoveries must be very great.

What still remains strangely obscure is the sojourn of the Gypsies in Switzerland in 1418, and probably in 1419. By bringing together, for lack of anything better, a certain number of non-contemporaneous testimonies, I imagined formerly that I had arrived at a sufficiently close approximation to the truth; and as the number of 1400 individuals, the lowest—and in reality the only one which was not evidently absurd, amongst all those furnished by these chroniclers—appeared to me to be still too large,[2] I had concluded that a meeting of a mass of from 600 to 1400 Gypsies had taken place in Switzerland at the end of August and at the beginning of September 1418, and I had hinted that I thought the number of 600 the most likely. This number, very superior to those I had met with in the whole course of the First Period, would besides have sufficiently justified the name of *grand rendezvous* that I gave (*ibid.* p. 33) to this exceptional gathering; and it appeared clear to me that "all the Gypsies at that period in Western Europe" were assembled there.

Now, as will have been seen in my article of July last, all this (to say nothing of secondary details) appears to be called in question by a passage in a Swiss chronicler contemporary to the event, Justinger, according to whom the "baptized *Heidens*" who visited Switzerland for the first time were only "more than two hundred in number," and only appeared there in 1419. This new testimony is certainly of great value, but notwithstanding, I cannot, before more ample information has been obtained, consider it as entirely destroying all the preceding, especially certain parts of the passage in Tschudi, who places the event in 1418, giving exceedingly precise dates.

[1] I remark that, in this region, and even in those near to it, at Tournai, at Amiens, the people from Little Egypt are generally admitted, and even sometimes gratuitously lodged in the towns, where subsidies are accorded to them, whilst in many other places they are obliged to pass the night without the walls. It appears to me, at the same time, that they generally conducted themselves better in the Netherlands than elsewhere.

[2] See my Memoir of 1844, pp. 30-31, 46 and 47 of the *tirage-à-part*.

The question of the first arrivals of the Gypsies in Switzerland still remains open, and I repeat here the hope[1] that it may form the subject of special research on the part of some learned student of this country. It is only after a study of this kind that we shall know positively whether there were two arrivals—one in 1418, and another in 1419—or one only in one or the other of the above-named years, and if either of these by its numerical importance continues to justify the idea of a general rendezvous, of a meeting particularly complete of all the Gypsies scattered over Western Europe under the orders of Duke Andrew and Duke Michael. I will remark, besides, that a number of three or four hundred would still be sufficient to answer to the idea; for that of four hundred or thereabouts which has been given us in the beginning in the Hanseatic towns far exceeds all those that we have met with elsewhere; it probably comprised all the members of this first immigration, and it is possible that this one in the course of its peregrinations may have experienced heavier losses from the inclemency of the climate and bad treatment[2] than it had gained by the adjunction of fresh members and by births. I even remark that, after the number of four hundred or thereabouts given in the Hanseatic towns, that of "more than two hundred," furnished by Justinger himself, is the highest we have met with, together with that of "about two hundred," which is given us at Forli (7th August 1422), after the band of Bologna (July 1422), which only numbered a hundred souls, had made its junction with another in order to proceed together to Rome. Without doubt our Gypsies made a point of being as numerous as possible to present themselves to the Pope, and perhaps this number of two hundred really represents nearly the whole of the immigration at that time. The largest number after this is that of 150, which I supposed to exist at Augsburg (1st Nov. 1418), but perhaps I made too high an estimate from the sole circumstance mentioned by the chronicler that there were fifty men, with a great many women and children, under the conduct of two dukes and several earls; perhaps the Bâle troup nearly contained the same number, in 1422, under Duke Michael, although the chronicler gives no sort of indication in this respect when he speaks of fifty horses; and finally it is this number of one hundred and fifty or thereabouts which is given us by the chronicler of Metz (5th of June 1430) for the band led by a duke and two knights.

At all events, it now appears clear that it is no longer the too great

[1] Already expressed in my second article, No. for July 1889, p. 285.
[2] Some were killed when they first visited the Hanseatic towns.

number of Gypsies assembled in Switzerland that can embarrass us in our appreciations concerning the numerical importance of the Gypsies scattered over the West during this First Period—from 1417 to 1438. I had formerly made the novel remark that there could not possibly be a question at this period of a general immigration, as had been supposed up to that time,—that, on the contrary, it was a single band of some hundreds of individuals, who had then travelled over all the countries of the West, under the conduct of the same chiefs, presenting everywhere the same letters of recommendation from the Emperor first, afterwards from the Pope, and telling everywhere the same tales.

The new documents which have since been added to those I brought forward in 1844 have only confirmed these conclusions. I cannot flatter myself much more than formerly that I have followed in regular order the itineraries of our travellers, the insufficiency of the documents still leaves too many blanks; but all that we learn tends to make us recognise the same immigrants.

The proof that all the Gypsies then scattered over the West (with some possible exceptions which I am more disposed to admit now than formerly) belonged to the same group, which could not be very numerous, springs from three facts, of which the two first are in close connexion.

These are, first, the possession of letters of recommendation from the Emperor, and afterwards from the Pope, which, it is true, is not formally mentioned everywhere, but which is *nearly* everywhere evident. Secondly, the fundamental identity of the same tales, in visible conformity with the contents of the Imperial and Pontifical letters. It is the possession of these letters which induces our Gypsies to present themselves to the municipalities as penitents and pilgrims, and in this quality to demand subsidies; it is by availing themselves of these venerated documents that they often draw a crowd around them, and make recitals in which they may occasionally introduce some romance, and which present some variations, but which are always based on the same theme. Now, even in admitting, as I am inclined to do, that these letters did not consist of one single exemplar, and that there existed one or two authentic copies of them, destined to serve the various detachments when the chiefs and their band separated to follow different directions, the possession of these letters is only possible for a limited number of immigrants, all belonging to the same group; for one may be sure that the chiefs to whom these letters had been accorded, and who made so good a use of them

for themselves and their bands, would not have renounced such a privilege in favour of any other sort of Gypsies. Later, the notoriety of these high recommendations may have profited even to those who were not provided with them, and who had not known how to procure themselves others; but in the course of this First Period, one sees very well, and on several occasions, that it was the real documents themselves, in a form evidently authentic, that were presented to the town councils by the chiefs soliciting subsidies. One may also remark the manner in which the Pope's letters, when it is felt needful, are, so to say, grafted on those of the Emperor. All this reveals a unity of action which excludes the idea of a multitude.

But a third proof of the identity of the bands that we habitually meet with in the most varied countries of Western Europe comes to add itself to the preceding, and to confirm them: it is the identity of the chiefs conducting these bands, as far as we are able to verify. Most frequently each band is commanded by "a duke": at two places,[1] however (at Zürich, August-September 1418; at Augsburg, 1st November 1418), we are told that the Gypsies had *two dukes* at their head. Unfortunately their names are not given us conjointly; but they are given separately in some places. At Zurich probably (1418), and certainly at Bâle (1422), it is the *Duke Michael*;[2] at St. Laurent-lez-Mâcon (August 1419), at Deventer (March 1420), and at Bologna (July 1422), it is the *Duke Andrew*. And these names and titles are quite authentic, for we find them again at two dates belonging to the Second Period, viz. Duke Michael of Egypt at Utrecht in 1439, and "the great and renowned Lord Duke Andrew of Little Egypt," thus qualified by the municipality of Colmar (Alsace) in 1442. I must add that, up to the present moment, I am acquainted with but a third personage who, *in the Second Period*, has borne the title of duke.

It was evidently the two dukes, Andrew and Michael, who together directed all the immigrants of the First Period.

Under these two superior chiefs, or one of the two, the documents I have brought to light mention sometimes an earl, sometimes several earls and lords, sometimes two or several knights.[3] There is consequently no reason to be surprised at seeing a detachment at Amiens under the command of Earl Thomas (27th Sept. 1427), then

[1] These two localities are probably not the only ones, amongst those that we know, where the two dukes are found together; but even in those places where they were united, it is possible that only one of the two was in evidence.

[2] I set aside "Sire Miquiel, Prince of Latinghem, in Egypt" (Tournai, 30th September 1421), concerning whom I have given what explanations I have been able.

[3] It is exclusively to passages of *chronicles* that these general indications are due.

at Tournai (March 1429), under that of a *great earl* of Little Egypt, and at Arnheim (November 1429), under an *earl of Little Egypt*. But as the name of one of these earls is only once given, and their number is besides unknown to us, there is no inference to be drawn thence as to the identity of the Gypsy bands of this period.

A few words remain to be said of certain circumstances entirely exterior, but I think sufficiently remarkable, concerning which one is surprised not to obtain more information in the documents of the First Period.

It is not astonishing that nothing should be said of the *particular language* that these strangers[1] spoke between themselves, for it would have been necessary to distinguish it, that is to say, to be acquainted with it more or less, which would have been impossible to people of Western Europe. But how does it happen that no one should have made the least remark on the difficulty which the Gypsies must have experienced in communicating with the inhabitants of countries which they were visiting for the first time? I think that a certain number of these immigrants must have become, to some extent, familiar with German in some parts of Eastern Europe, and that it served them not only in the German-speaking countries, but also a little, no doubt, in some others, such as Holland; but it evidently was not from the first day that an adaptation could be made between their Austrian-German and the very different tongues and dialects even of those countries which linguistically belong to the German family. Some amongst them must also have learnt a little Italian in the East, which would have helped them even in the south of France. But all this could not have rendered the means of communication very easy. I am especially astonished that the two chroniclers who have written in French, the author of the *Chronique de Flandre* (Tournai, about May 1422), and that of the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Paris, August-Sept. 1427), who have given us so many curious details on the Gypsies whom they had seen so near, should say nothing of their French jargon, nor

[1] Aventinus (the Bavarian historian of the beginning of the sixteenth century, to whom we owe the document which opens the Second Period) says, however, in his *Annales ducum Bojariæ* (t. iii. of the recent edition of his *Complete Works* in 5 vols. in 8vo, München, 1880-86, p. 518), that the Gypsies speak the tongue of the Wends or Venèds: "Experimentis cognovi eos uti Venedicâ linguâ," a strange assertion, but perhaps interesting, for it would seem to indicate that there were numerous Gypsies in Bavaria at this time, who had come there from the region of the banks of the Vistula. It is not perhaps useless to observe that John-George Eccard (or Eckhard), whom I have already named as the editor of one of the writings of the Priest Andrew of Ratisbon, has given a *Vocabularium Venedicum* in his work, *Historia Studii etymologici linguæ Germanicæ hactenus impensi*, etc., Hanoveræ, 1711, in 8vo.

of any other language (German, Italian, or other) which might be known to be more familiar to them. The *Bourgeois de Paris*, who "went three or four times to speak to them," and who evidently received from their mouth the long recital of their religious adventures, does not appear to have experienced any difficulty in comprehending them. It is true that in 1427 these Gypsies had been travelling over the countries of the West for ten years; but we have only established their previous presence in French-speaking countries in August and October 1419, at Mâcon and at Sisteron, and in Sept. 1421 and May 1422 at Tournai; and these passages through regions where the popular French language presented great differences, had taken place, as one sees, several years before. Must it be inferred from what the *Bourgeois de Paris* tells us, that these Gypsies had travelled over France much more than we have been informed of? It is very possible. But this was not the case at Mâcon, for example, in the month of August 1419; and the Register of the deliberations of this town, which already contains more details than are usually to be found in documents of this kind, remains silent, as does all other testimony, on the point in question. To conclude, we may, I think, say in a general manner that the silence of these documents, whilst it authorises our thinking that the Gypsies had a remarkable facility for assimilating foreign languages, makes one desire some explanations, of which one is surprised not to find the least trace, concerning the manner in which communications were held with these strangers in the countries where they arrived for the first time.

Neither are we very clearly informed on another more important point. I mean the vehicles and the shelters that these nomads may have had.

We have seen that the chronicler Andrew, priest of Ratisbon, in speaking of the Gypsies who arrived in Bavaria in 1424 and in 1426, mentions very distinctly their *tents*. But this double information concerns new-comers *from Hungary*, whom I have clearly distinguished from the great band come certainly from a greater distance, which had been travelling over the countries of the West since 1417, and which has formed the essential object of our study during the whole of this First Period; for these Hungarian Gypsies, of whom we lose the trace in Bavaria, evidently remain strangers to what I have called the *official* immigration of this epoch.

The question is to know whether the Gypsies, whose peregrinations I have endeavoured to follow in the countries of the West from

1417 to 1438, had also *tents*? It is certain that none of the documents concerning them make the slightest mention of them. But one may hesitate to consider this silence as decisive, because none speak either of *chariots*, which is all the more extraordinary, because we know that these immigrants, more or less horse-dealers (see Tournai towards May 1422), were not wanting in horses: the detachment of 100 persons who visited Deventer in March 1420 had about *forty*; the band, more or less numerous, which appeared at Bâle in 1422, after the month of August, had about *fifty*. One asks one's-self how people travelling with women and children, and who, being in many places excluded from entering the towns, were obliged "to camp in the fields during the night" (especially in the Hanseatic towns, 1417; at Berne, 1419 [?]; at St. Laurent-lez-Mâcon, August 1419; at Sisteron, October 1419), could dispense with one or the other of such shelters as tents or waggons more or less closed. The thing appears so unlikely that I at first thought that, notwithstanding the silence of the documents, they must necessarily have had tents or waggons, if not both; and I inclined to give the preference to waggons for several reasons: I thought that these clever people had probably given up the use of tents when they spread themselves over the West, because their use would have testified to their former nomadic habits, and would be in contradiction with the tale in which they represented themselves as being in possession of *land* in their *own country* (see especially the recital in the *Bourgeois de Paris*). And I also thought that the silence of the documents in respect to all sorts of vehicles was more easy to be understood than that concerning tents, which are a shelter much more likely to attract attention in our part of the world. It is besides certain that the use of waggons, impossible in the East on account of the absence or the bad state of roads, was more practicable in the West even at this period.

I am aware that, in our times, there are unfortunate Gypsies in our countries too poor to have any sort of wheeled shelter, and who pass the night as they can, sometimes in the barn of a compassionate or timorous peasant, oftener under a bridge or under some natural half-shelter, which they render more complete by some old drapery hung upon poles. But these expedients did not appear to me applicable to large bands of a hundred or of fifty persons, or sometimes more, who found themselves stopped at the entrance of a town, and who, having probably foreseen the case, would naturally also provide themselves in consequence. I supposed it the more willingly that the bands in question were better organised, as is indicated by the

hierarchy of the leaders, and also probably less poor than they appeared to be,[1] as may be deduced from divers circumstances, more especially from the possession of a large number of horses. I had then at first thought that the immigrants of the First Period, to speak first of all of those only, must have had waggons, certainly not resembling the wheeled and sometimes very comfortable abodes which Gypsies and mountebanks of our period in France and England call *caravans*, and which reveal half-civilised habits, but vehicles, which by the aid of some drapery stretched over hoops might serve as shelter on an occasion.

But in reading over and over again the documents of this period, I finally conclude that they are less compatible with those conjectures than they appeared to be at first sight. When Cornerius and Rufus (1417) both tell us that "some were on horseback, and the others on foot"; when Justinger, the Swiss contemporary chronicler (1419 ?), writes, "They had among them dukes and earls, who were provided with good silver belts, and who were on horseback; the others were poor and pitiful";—when one reads in the Register of the Deliberations of the town of Mâcon (August 1419) that "they lay in the fields like cattle":—such testimony, coming precisely from the same places where it is said they were not allowed to pass the night in the town,[2] appears finally to exclude the idea of vehicles and, above all, of any number of vehicles proportionate to that of the travellers, and fitted to serve them as a shelter upon occasion. It would have been so natural in each passage of these chronicles to mention them, if they had existed, that I am forced to conclude that there were none. Some other testimonies, especially that of Bologna (July 1422), where one sees the duke lodge at a hostelry, and the troop shelter itself under the arcades, may be invoked in the same sense.

Thus few or no conveyances, and certainly no tents—these, I think, are the conclusions at which we arrive for what I call the official immigration of the First Period (1417-1438).

I think I may even now add that, later on, the use of vehicles of various sorts spread itself little by little amongst the numerous Gypsies who immigrated into the West, but that the tent remained generally unknown to them until a relatively recent epoch, when the English Gypsies revived the use of it.

[1] "Brief, ce estoient les plus povres créatures que on vit oncques venir en France de aage de homme."—*Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (1427).

[2] There is, again, the document from Sisteron (October 1419), which attests that, not having the permission to enter into the town, they remained two days encamped in a meadow, like men of arms (*ubi sunt lochati more gencium armorum*). But it would be necessary to know exactly how men of arms encamped at that period.

England is, in fact, if I mistake not, the only country of Western Europe where the use of real tents, often of large dimensions, actually exists among the Gypsies at the same time as that of the *caravans*. But Mr Groome[1] appears to me to have shown that it is very likely that these tents of the English Gypsies, quite different from those of the Gypsies of the East, are of recent invention. Everywhere else, if my memory serves me right, even in Spain, the country where the Gypsies are the most numerous in the West, the use of tents—I mean real tents, and not shelters got up at a moment's notice—is generally unknown to the Gypsies of the West, and if this surprises me but little in the present, I am, on the contrary, much astonished at it in the periods which correspond to the great immigration (Second Period), or which closely follow it; for it appears to me beyond a doubt that the use of tents was general and of long standing amongst the Gypsies of the East at this period—that is to say, amongst those of the countries from whence our immigrants came. It is here that I differ from Mr Groome, who has been mistaken, according to me, in mixing up the East and the West in this question, and, besides, in contenting himself, as regards the East, with one single example, to which he attributes too easily a negative value.

First of all we must notice, with Mr Groome himself (*ibid.* p. 58), that "at the present time, in the Ottoman Empire, the Tchinghianés possessing tents are much more numerous than their house-dwelling brethren." Is it likely that people so profoundly nomadic as the Gypsies, and who had inhabited or traversed countries where the tent is used (especially Asia Minor), should have waited until modern times to adopt this shelter and abode so well adapted to all the nomads of the East? It would be necessary, in order to establish a a fact so little probable, to have very clear proofs—that is to say, what is always rare, negative testimonies of a decisive import. Now, I find quite the contrary.

The documents which make us acquainted with the Gypsies of the East, not only before the migration of the fifteenth century in the West, but also during the course of that century, are not yet very numerous, and I have several times remarked, with some persistence, that we are generally indebted[2] for these documents (even for those of the West relative to immigration) to exceptional circumstances.

Now one of these exceptional circumstances is naturally the

[1] In his curious and interesting book, *In Gypsy Tents*, Edinburgh, 1880, 8vo of viii and 387 pages, pp. 57, 58.

[2] See in *Antecedents and Preludes* (No. for April 1889), pp. 189, 201, where I refer the reader to some former writings.

grouping of a large number of *sedentary* Gypsies in a very frequented place. If a *foreign* traveller passes that way, his attention will naturally be more drawn to this strange population of a certain importance, which he can visit at his leisure and concerning which he can get information, than by meeting on the road some nomadic family of whom he knows nothing. It is thus we are indebted for valuable information to some German travellers of the end of the sixteenth century, concerning two or three groups of Gypsies established in the Peloponnesus. It is one of these documents that Mr. Groome has in view. But let us set the question on its right basis.

I have blamed Mr. Groome for mixing up the East and the West in the question—in my opinion, they ought to be clearly separate—and for having concluded, from the absence of tents among the Gypsies of the West, that the same absence existed more or less anciently among the Gypsies of the East. I must find fault with him also for making another confusion. What is the real question? It is whether *nomadic* Gypsies of the East had generally tents at the period when the Gypsies *undeniably nomadic, at least in the West,*[1] who had come from the East into the West, were, as must be admitted, and as is most strange, generally unprovided with this kind of shelter.

Now, in order to reply negatively to this question, Mr. Groome contents himself (p. 57) with bringing forward the case of the Gypsies of Modona in the Peloponnesus, visited quite at the end of the fifteenth century by a German from Cologne, Arnold de Harff, who were *sedentary.* Indeed, Harff, in his valuable description,[2] begins by telling us that this Gypsy colony, of some importance (about 300 families), live in a remote suburb of Modona in "small rush-covered houses," where these strangers, nearly "naked," exercise different crafts; and Mr Hopf, before this quotation, says (p. 13) a few words which appear to explain this state of things, not only at Modona, but at Nauplia, where another Gypsy colony existed. He says that the Venetians who, from their fortified castles situated on the coasts, commanded the Peloponnesus before the Turkish conquest, granted

[1] "*at least in the West*": I add these words, after reflection, to my already rather complicated phrase; for the example of the Gypsies, coming for the most part from Corfu, who landed at Liverpool in July 1886 (see my first article, April 1889, p. 204) shows, if I am not mistaken, that *sedentary* Gypsies, as soon as they emigrate, easily become *nomad.* This remark, joined to the recitals of the Gypsies of the *First Period,* as well as certain indications contained in Hopf's pamphlet, quoted further on, will perhaps throw some light upon the history of this initial period; but I cannot for the present do more than indicate this rather hazardous opinion.

[2] Reproduced by Carl Hopf in his pamphlet *Die Einwanderung der Zigeuner in Europa,* Gotha, 1870 (in small 8vo of 47 pages), p. 14 and following.

to the Gypsies and also the Jews, in reason of the payment of a tax, commercial toleration and *an asylum* in the outskirts of the defences of the ports, where these strangers, Gypsies and Jews, had their own street and their own quarter.

Certainly this is not an ordinary state of things for the Gypsies, neither is it a condition in which they could stand in need of tents. The Gypsy colony of Corfu, of whose history the same author, Hopf, has been able to give a summary from the year 1340,[1] did not require them any more than these.

As to the few other documents *anterior to the migration of the fifteenth century*, to speak first of these, they are not more of a nature to enlighten us concerning the tents of the nomads. I am acquainted with but one only which concerns the nomadic Gypsies,[2] and this is the Cretan document (an. 1322), whose author, Symon Simeonis, does not content himself with mentioning the *tents* of these strange people, but describes them in a few words. Here is a positive and relatively ancient document, which appears to me of more value than the negative proofs invoked by Mr. Groome.

As far as the regions of the Danube are concerned at more recent periods, I think that testimonies would not be wanting for Roumania if I had leisure to search for them. What is certain is that as regards Hungary they are already conclusive. We have first of all the two passages of the Priest Andrew of Ratisbon (Ratisbon, 1424 and 1426), which the reader will no doubt recollect. After that we have the letter of the King of Hungary, Wladislas, granted in 1496 to Thomas Polgar, Woiwode of the people of Pharaoh, "unà cum aliis Pharaonibus *sub viginti quinque tentoriis*."[3] Finally I will content myself with referring to the Numbers IV. and V. of the Appendix (*Beylage*) of Grellmann (edition of 1787), where two official documents of 1560 and 1616 will be found. Both of them concern the Gypsies of Hungary, and they are very significant; for one would be inclined to think on reading them that *all* the Gypsies of Hungary had tents, which would probably exceed the truth, but which proves how much the use of these tents was general amongst them. I need scarcely add that this use was not evidently of recent date. I remark that, according

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 17-22. I have analysed the valuable documents furnished by Hopf, in *État de la Question de l'ancienneté des Tsiganes en Europe* (Congress of Budapest, 1876), Paris, 1877.

[2] There is also a passage in the *Genesis*, written *in verse* by an Austrian monk, about 1122, which evidently regards the Gypsy *copper-smiths* (*caldarari*), great travellers (see *État de la Question*, pp. 23-29 of the *tiré-à-part*), and one can hardly doubt that these Gypsies, *likened to the Arabs* by the author, had tents, but they are not formally designated, which is not surprising in a document of this nature.

[3] Georg. Pray, *Annales regum Hungariæ*, in fol., Pars iv. p. 273.

to the dispositions of the Act of 1560, it was usual to count *by tents*, "according to the custom observed *ab antiquo*," for raising the annual tribute (one florin) imposed on the Gypsies in Hungary; as in Wallachia and in Moldavia, where they were slaves, it was usual to count by *salasches* [1] when a group of Gypsies was given or sold.

To conclude, the use of tents among the Gypsies of the East, at the period of the immigration into the West, appears to me beyond doubt. But the absence of tents among the Gypsies of the Immigration (with the exception of those possessed by the Gypsies who came from Hungary into Bavaria in 1424 and 1426) still remains unexplained.

I have perhaps dwelt rather long on this question of *tents*, but it appeared to me interesting to state it with some precision: it is perhaps the surest way usefully to provoke the attention of Gypsiologists, and to call forth the communication of some new documents, by help of which it may be solved more completely.

As regards Mr. Groome, I am persuaded that he will only see in the criticisms of his address a new proof of the high value I set upon his opinion. I am, besides, agreed with him on this point, that the Gypsies certainly do not cease to be Gypsies by the sole fact that they cease to live under the tent (p. 59). I will add that even the sedentary life does not always transform them. Their transformation depends upon complex circumstances which I cannot examine here. One remark more. It is in the natural order of things that the nomadic Gypsies should become sedentary; and I also comprehend that Gypsies, either individually, or by groups, after having quitted their wandering life, should return to it sooner or later (in certain cases it will be a real effect of atavism). But I cannot admit that the *Gypsy race* should ever have been a sedentary race, becoming afterwards a nomadic one.

There are two other questions, more or less connected, which it would be interesting to elucidate if possible: To what classes of Eastern Gypsies did most of those who have immigrated into the various countries of the West belong? [2] Why, in several of these

[1] This word (which was hardly ever applied but to Gypsy groups) is generally translated by *family*, *household*; but its precise etymology and its signification are rather obscure, and I think that neither these words, nor that of *tent*, translate it exactly. I am told that in modern times the *salasch* comprises the wagon, the tent, and the Gypsy household.

[2] The tent question is not perhaps without some connection with this one.—And the *costume* of the Gypsies of the Immigration, if one were well acquainted with it, and above all, if one were acquainted with the differences presented in this respect by the different groups of immigrants, would probably also throw some light upon these questions. But we do not possess this information, and I shall no doubt have but little to add to the little monograph (valuable as is all that comes from the pen of that excellent Gypsiologist published by Mr. H. T. Crofton under this title, *The Former Costume of the Gypsies* (Manchester, 1876), in 8vo, of 10 pages. It suffices that I should refer the reader to it.

countries have they shown themselves greater thieves, more idle, and sometimes more mischievous, than the average amongst their brethren in the East, or at least in some parts of the East? But these are very delicate questions, and if I enter at all upon them, I prefer waiting. I intend to publish in an early article, not the history of the Second Period, but some small contributions to this history; and perhaps the documents I shall have to consult on this occasion will help me to see more clearly into these questions.

PAUL BATAILLARD.

VIII.—O DUI TOVARISHA: A SLOVAK-GYPSY TALE.

O DUI TOVARISHA. / THE TWO COMRADES.

Ehas yekh gájo, has lestar shtár chávore; ehas igen choro: phendyas la romnyake, hoi, so you kerla, kana hi igen choro. E romnyi leske phendyas, hoi te den pre sluzhba duyen ole raklen h-o duyen te del pr-o remeslos.

There was a country-man, he had four sons. He was very poor. He asked his wife what he should do, for he is very poor. The wife told him that they might send two of the boys to service, and dedicate two to a trade.

Auka len dinyas, le Yankos he le Gashparis, dinyas len te viuchinel. Yekh has shustros, aver has kraichiris. Pále achle tovarisha.

Therefore he apprenticed them, John and Caspar. One was a shoemaker, the other was a tailor. Afterwards they became journeymen.

Teda kana avri sikile, avle kére, phende le dadeske: uzh amen sam láche maistri; akana kamen jaha pr-e vandrouka.

Then, when they had completed their time [lit. "learnt out"], they came home, and said to the father: "We are good master-workmen already; now we wish to go on our travels."

Th-auka géle and-e báre vesha. Janas báre poleha. Auka phende o dui phrala: hi tut chúri? Thovaha ola ande bári yelya zhi yekhe bersh adai mukas: Aka-kanak ach devleha, lácho shukár phral! Kana man na rakeha yekhe bersheha adai, auka pheneha,

And so they went into large forests: they passed through large mountains (?). So said the two brothers: "Have you a knife? Let us stick it into the large fir-tree. We will leave it there for a year. Now go with God [fare-well!], good, fine brother. If you

hoi som imár mulano alebo som nashado.

do not find me here in a year, then you will say that I have died or have been killed."

Imár (achlyas) avlyas o Gasparis te rodel e Yankos, avlyas te rodel k-oda bári yelya the diklyas pr-e chúri: e chúri has ratváli. Auka o Gashparis igen rovelas: uzh hi o lácho brátyelis, o phral uzh hi mudárdo.

Then came Caspar to seek John. He came to seek (him) to that great fir-tree, and looked on the knife. The knife was bloody. So Caspar wept much. The good brother, the brother, is killed!

To láches—uzhárlas dui bersh; kai pes ilyas yekh nedvyedyis he yekha lishkaha. Phuchel lestar o medvyedyis: Gashpar so roves? Hoske, phendyas, na rovavas pal mro lácho phral? Kana gélyam yekhetáne, me akakanak nashtyi les rakhau.

Well, then — he waited two years. Then came a bear with a fox. The bear asked him: "Caspar, why do you weep?" "Why," he said, "should I not weep for my good brother? Though we went with one another, I cannot find him now.'

Pále leske phendyas e lishka: jánes tu so? yav adarde yekhe choneste, tu adai rakeha tre phrales. Akanak ach mre sonnakune devleha.

Then the fox said to him: "Do you know what (to do)? Come hither in a month: you will find your brother here. Now be with my golden God [farewell!]."

Auka láches—avlyas yekhe choneste, uzh leskro phral ehas pr-o svetos. Xudi nyas peskre phrales the igen les chumidelas: Mro milo phral, kai tu salas imar dui bersh, so me tut na diklyom?

Well, then—he came after a month. His brother was in the world (found). He embraced his brother, and kissed him much. 'My dear brother [he said], where have you been these two years, while I did not see you?"

Ax mro lácho phral, kai me somas: and e bári hostyintsa, odoi has báre chóra, auka lentsa mosi te phiravas dui bersh the yekh chon. Ale ma dara, uzh amen sam láche barvale, uzh hi amen dost lóve; akakanak jaha kére kia amáro dad he k-amári dai.

"O my good brother, where was I? In a large inn, where there were great robbers, so I had to wander with them two years and a month. But do not fear, we are now truly rich: we have money enough now: now we shall go home to our father and to our mother."

Auka pes ile the géle kére, ande peske but lóve, kinde peske guruven

So they got up and went home. They brought for themselves much

the shukáren grasten. Auka has yon barvale sar yekh raya. Te na múle, ehi pro-o svetos.

money, and bought for themselves cattle and fine horses. So they were rich as (some) gentlemen. If they are not dead, they are in the world (alive).

NOTES.

This story I obtained from A. Facsuna, who furnished me with the tale *O Minaris* (vol. i. of this *Journal*, pp. 258-260). *Janas báre poleha*, the story-teller explained "through large mountains." *Pole* itself is a Slovak word, and means "field." Its meaning seems to have been changed in the mind of the Gypsies; cf. *vrch*. Slov. *vrch* means "a hill,' but the G. word is often used for "forest": *vesh*, in general meaning "forest," seems to denote in some cases a mountainous country.

Kana gélyam yekhetáne. It is a matter of doubt whether this clause ought to be joined to the sentence which precedes it or to that which follows.

Janes tu so? cf. German *Weisst du was?* (alike in Slovak).

Dui bersh, so me tut na diklyom; cf. Slovak : *co jsem te nevidel* (lit. What! I did not see you). The lower class of Germans in Slavonic countries use the same form.

RUDOLF VON SOWA.

REVIEWS.

Zeitschrift für Volkskunde; herausgegeben von Dr. EDMUND VECKENSTEDT. Leipzig, 1889. Alfred Dörffel.

This volume of Dr. Veckenstedt's journal, although it is the first, is already so well known to folk-lorists that any general review of it in these pages would almost be superfluous, even if we were not limited to the more special study of *Gyspy* lore. But the *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* contains much that directly interests the Gypsiologist. There is, for example, an excellent Lithuanian folk-tale (by Fr. Richter) of *The Gypsy and the Devil*. This story tells how, once upon a time, the Devil lived in a deep lake, where many of the neighbouring people became his victims. At length the king of the country is aroused to make a great effort to drive the devil out of this lake, and the reward which he holds out to him who should succeed is, not the conventional princess, but the promise that the victor should live with him in his palace and eat with him every day. This somewhat modest bribe induces several more people to fall a sacrifice to the

Devil, while attempting to get rid of him. But at last a Gypsy presents himself before the King. The low esteem in which the Gypsies were there held may be inferred from the fact that the King, while accepting the Gypsy's offer, secretly hoped he would fail; "for the idea of seeing a Gypsy daily at his table was not very pleasant to him." How the Gypsy outwitted the Devil—for, of course he outwitted him—and how he thereby attained to great riches and happiness, may be read more fully in the pages of the *Zeitschrift.*

But the really important Gypsy contribution is by our fellow-member, Dr. von Wlislocki. This consists of a collection of Children's Songs, Rhymes, and Games gathered among the tent-Gypsies of Southern Hungary and Transylvania. There is first a number of very interesting alliterative examples, then follows a series of rhymes on places and towns, with hints at their peculiarities, and thereafter several rhymes on well-known personal names. In citing several *Lügenliedchen,* Dr. Wlislocki introduces in a prose form a story of three brothers, of whom the two elder were defeated in a contest with a celebrated liar, who, however, had to strike his colours to the youngest brother, according to the usual rule in such tales. Of rhymes about birds there are many examples, and some others are addressed to such animals as the frog, the cricket (which is called "God's steed"), and the snail; while a rhyme chanted to wasps and humble-bees quaintly pictures them as the guardians of the golden treasures of the earth-man (*Pçuvus*), for so their hidden hoards of honey figure in the imagination of these Gypsy children. From the brief summary here given, it will be seen that these papers on Gypsy *Kinderlieder* contain also much that will attract the notice of all students of folk-lore.

An article, "Some Words on Thief Talk," by William Cumming Wilde, in the December number of the *Journal of American Folk-lore,* has chiefly a bibliographical value. Of Gypsies, and books on the Gypsies, its author might learn a good deal from Miklosich's *Zigeunerische Elemente in den Gaunersprachen Europa's* (Vienna, 1876). "Barrow" is of course a slip for *Borrow,* and "lay" for *lav* ("word"); but the statement that "a careful examination of Borde's Egyptian goes to show that it is more Turkish Romany than English Gypsy" is less easily rectified. On the other hand, members of our Society will be interested to meet with *parney,* "rain," in a New York *Rogues' Lexicon* (1859).

Since the date of last issue of the *Journal*, the Gypsy Lore Society has sustained a severe loss in the death of Mr. William John Ibbetson, one of the original members of the Society, and to whose suggestion, indeed, the Society owes its existence. Mr. Ibbetson, who was the youngest son of the Reverend Denzil J. H. Ibbetson of St. John's, Adelaide, South Australia, was born on 6th January 1861. He was educated at Haileybury College, England, where he held a classical scholarship, and at Clare College, Cambridge, where he obtained a minor scholarship for mathematics in April 1879. He afterwards became a senior mathematical scholar of his College. He graduated as B.A. in 1882, being thirteenth wrangler in that year, and in the following year was placed alone, on December 11, of the third part of the Mathematical Tripos. In 1886 he graduated as M.A. He was a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society, and of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, and a Member of the Institute of Actuaries, the London Mathematical and the Cambridge Antiquarian Societies, to which he had contributed several papers. He was the author of *A Mathematical Theory of Elasticity* (pp. xiii + 515: Macmillan, 1887), an examiner in Mathematics at Haileybury College, and twice in the Cambridge Local Examinations. His death took place on 12th October 1889.

No incident in Mr. Ibbetson's too brief career is of more interest to our readers than the occasion which led to the formation of this Society. In *Notes and Queries* of 8th October 1887, a query by Colonel W. F. Prideaux, as to whether "any systematic attempt" had been made "to collect the songs and ballads that are still current among the English Gypsies," was responded to by Mr. Ibbetson in the number of that periodical issued on the 12th November following, in which reply Mr. Ibbetson, after referring the querist to various published works containing such songs, concludes thus:—

"I would venture to suggest that the Anglo-American Romany Ryes should form themselves into a club or correspondence society, for the purpose of compiling and publishing by subscription as complete a vocabulary and collection of songs as may be attainable at this date, and also of settling a uniform system of transliteration for Romany words, which is a great desideratum."

This suggestion led to a correspondence, which resulted in the formation of the Society in the following spring.

Mr. Ibbetson, although deeply interested in Gypsy life and language, had never published anything more serious than a Romani version of a popular song, which appeared in a London periodical,

and which he signed as "Claude Lovel," the name he was known by among his Romani friends. He has, however, left behind him the materials for a vocabulary, which possess all the value of original compilation. His only contribution to our *Journal* has been the extract from the *Bombay Gazetteer*, copied by him at the India Office last spring, which appeared in our issue of April 1889. But although he had not, so far, communicated his experiences and knowledge to the *Journal*, he took the greatest pleasure in its appearance, and frequently expressed his gratification that the suggestion made by him only two years ago should have yielded such admirable results. It is much to be regretted that the opening number of our second volume should have thus to record the untimely death of one who was so sincerely interested in this Society.

We have received the December number of the *Eagle*, a magazine supported by members of St. John's College, Cambridge. Pp. 23-33 are occupied with a "Romani Ghili," by "Yanik Ruzlamengro," which is "written in the deep Romany of the north-country Hernes and Boswells," and which tells how a Gentile squire wooed a Romany maiden, and lost her. Prefixed is an excursus by "D. M." on Romany, and there is a parallel metrical version of the ballad.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

I.

Notes upon the Gypsies of Constantinople.

M. Henry Carnoy, the eminent French traditionist, has furnished us with the following information, with regard to which he remarks:—"Both the legend and the account of the marriage ceremony were obtained in Constantinople. It will be noticed that the ceremony here cited is common to various nations, and it appears to be of very ancient origin. The Arabs, in particular, have a marriage ceremony absolutely identical with this."

Legend of the Origin of the Gypsies.

Nimrod the Infidel had taken prisoner Abraham the Just, whom he doomed to perish by fire. He caused a huge pyre to be lighted, and commanded Abraham to be thrown upon it. So great was the heat that no one could approach near enough to the fire to throw the Just One thereon.

"Let a machine be constructed that will hurl Abraham on to the pyre!" decreed Nimrod.

But they could not succeed in doing this.

Then Satan presented himself before Nîmrod the Unbeliever.

"Thou wilt not be able to cast Abraham into the flames," said the Demon, "until a brother and a sister surrender themselves to one another."

Thereupon a man named *Tchin* and his sister prostituted themselves to each other. The child born of this incestuous union was called *Tchinguiané* or *Tchinguéne*. He was the father of Tsiganes.

Nimrod was then able to cast Abraham into the fire. But the good God changed the furnace into a delicious garden, and the Just One was saved. (Told at Constantinople, in April 1887, by Hadji-Hussein, artisan, Yltise-Han, fifty-two years of age, a native of Ispahan, Persia.)

The following extract from Mr. Leland's *The Gypsies* (Boston, 1882, pp. 339-341) may suitably be inserted here, as a supplement to the version of the legend given above by M. Carnoy :—

"Next to the word *rom* itself, the most interesting in Romany is *zingan*, or *tchenkan*, which is used in twenty or thirty different forms by the people of every country, except England, to indicate the Gypsy. An incredible amount of far-fetched erudition has been wasted in pursuing this philological *ignis fatuus*. That there are leather-working and saddle-working Gypsies in Persia who call themselves Zingan is a fair basis for an origin of the word ; but then there are Tchangar Gypsies of Jāt affinity in the Punjāb. Wonderful it is that in this war of words no philologist has paid any attention to what the Gypsies themselves say about it. What they do say is sufficiently interesting, as it is told in the form of a legend which is intrinsically curious and probably ancient. It is given as follows in *The People of Turkey*, by a Consul's Daughter and Wife, edited by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole ; London, 1878 :—'Although the Gypsies are not persecuted in Turkey, the antipathy and disdain felt for them evinces itself in many ways, and appears to be founded upon a strange legend current in the country. This legend says that when the Gypsy nation were driven out of their country (India), and arrived at Mekran, they constructed a wonderful machine to which a wheel was attached.' From the context of this imperfectly told story, it would appear as if the Gypsies could not travel further until this wheel should revolve :—'Nobody appeared to be able to turn it till, in the midst of their vain efforts, some evil spirit presented himself under the disguise of a sage, and informed the chief, whose name was Chen, that the wheel would be made to turn only when he had married his sister Guin. The chief accepted the advice, the wheel turned round, and the name of the tribe after this incident became that of the combined names of the brother and sister, Chenguin, the appellation of all the Gypsies of Turkey at the present day.'"

Mr. Leland goes on to state "that the neighbouring Roumanian Gypsies, who are nearly allied to the Turkish, have a wild legend stating that the sun was a youth who, having fallen in love with his own sister, was condemned as the sun to wander for ever in pursuit of her, after she was turned into the moon." And on this ground, as well as for etymological reasons, Mr. Leland is inclined to regard *Chen* and *Guin* as simply the sun and moon. But since, as he points out, the Roumanian-Gypsy version is common to several nations, the difficulty presents itself that those other nations (who do not call themselves by any such name as *Tchinguiané*) must be assumed to have obtained this myth from the Gypsies at second-hand. Nevertheless, the theory that *Chen* was the sun, and *Guin* the moon, is remarkably confirmed by the "wheel" variant, assuming that the "wheel" indicates the world.

The marriage ceremony described by M. Carnoy is almost the same as that given in Borrow's *Zincali*, except that at Constantinople another garment takes the place of the *dicló*. We subjoin a Romani rendering of M. Carnoy's version :—

Soulou-Coulé si o tan kei djivéna sār i Constantinopleski Romané.

Vonka o dui nevo-romadé avéna andré o rómadi-kamóra, avéna būt Romané (tchalā, tchaia, te tchavé) andré o drom anglál adova ker, talé o kamóra kei shan o rom te romni: odoi arakavéna i Romané. Kana arakavéna i Romané tikno tchéros tchardéna—"Kana kamakeréna adova? Mā mukén te arákavāva būt!"

Talla avéla rom ke kamoresko-vudár (Lat. *fenestra*). Puderéla varikitchi pudi-

nibé (tikno pudinsar); te wuseréla andré o drom romnieskeri-sostén, bût ratvali. I romnieskeri-siménsa, te sār o Romané, léna opré lákeri ratvali sostén, pandéna sostén kashtke, te djéna andré Solou-Coulé, te ghiléna te usharéna i raklieskeri-ladjipén :—

> " Ghiás yoi andré te andrál Constantinople, Galata, te Pera,[1]
> Righadás-yoi sar-var ladjipéna ! "

2.

Gypsy Colours.

In a recent correspondence with one of our fellow-members, some reference was made to the distinguishing colours of the Gypsies. These my correspondent has been accustomed to regard as red, black, and yellow. "About the Gypsy colours," he writes, in answer to a special inquiry, "I have no authority whatever, except that at a Gypsy wedding procession in Spain, of which I was a witness, many of the women wore yellow skirts, red bodices, and black jackets, and several of the men had bunches of ribbons of that tricolour in their hats. There is also the fact, for what it may be worth, that these colours have been adopted by the *I Zingari* Cricket Club. I once asked a Romany chal in Spain if the red and yellow of the Spanish flag were not his tribal colours, and he replied, '*Falta el negro, caballero.*'" These are good grounds for the belief, and the Spanish Gypsy's tacit recognition of these three as his tribal colours is very distinct. Moreover, the rhyme quoted by Mr. Leland—

> "Red and yellow for Romany,
> And blue and pink for the Gorgiee,"

goes two-thirds of the way towards endorsing this opinion. On the other hand, there is the conflicting evidence given by Dr. Solf with regard to the German Gypsies (as quoted in our number of July 1888, p. 51), to the following effect :—"Each tribe has its own banner and symbol. That of the Old Prussian tribe is a fir-tree upon a black and white ground ; that of the New Prussian tribe a birch-tree upon a green and white ground ; that of the Hanoverian tribe is a mulberry-tree upon a gold, blue, and white ground. . . . The favourite colour, both with men and women, is green, which they regard as the colour of honour." Again, in Simson's *History of the Gypsies* (London, 1865, pp. 213-215), it is stated :—"The male Gypsies in Scotland were often dressed in green coats, black breeches, and leathern aprons. The females were very partial to green clothes. . . . The males [of the Baillie clan] wore scarlet cloaks, reaching to their knees, and resembling exactly the Spanish fashion of the present day."

After reading these various and contradictory statements, one is puzzled to know whether there ever was any distinctively Gypsy colour. Perhaps some of our members can add something more definite upon this subject.

David MacRitchie.

3.

Transportation of Gypsies from Scotland to America.

In Robert Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (1858, vol. ii. p. 304) occurs the following passage, under the date November 1665 :—

"The light regard paid to the personal right of individuals was shown by a wholesale deportation of poor people at this time to the West Indies. The chronic

[1] The two districts last named have an evil reputation.—H. C.

evil of Scotland, an oppressive multitude of idle, wandering people and beggars, was not now much less afflicting than it had been in the two preceding reigns. It was proposed to convert them to some utility by transferring them to a field where there was a pressing want of labour. On the 2d of November George Hutcheson, merchant in Edinburgh, for himself and copartners addressed the Privy Council on this subject, 'out of a desire as weel to promote the Scottish and English plantations in Gemaica and Barbadoes for the honour of their country, as to free the kingdom of the burden of many strong and idle beggars, Egyptians, common and notorious thieves, and other dissolute and looss persons banished and stigmatised for gross crimes.' The petitioners had, by warrant of the sheriffs, justices of the peace, and magistrates of burghs, apprehended and secured some of these people; yet, without authority of the Council, they thought they might 'meet with some opposition in the promoting and advancing so good a work.' It was therefore necessary for them to obtain due order and warrant from the Council.

"The Council granted warrant and power to the petitioners to transport all such persons, 'providing always that ye bring the said persons before the Lords Justice-Clerk, to whom it is hereby recommended to try and take notice of the persons, that they be justly convict for crimes, or such vagabonds as, by the law of the country, may be apprehended, to the effect the country may be disburdened of them.'

"Two months later James Dunbar, merchant, bound for Barbadoes, was licensed to take sundry 'vagabonds and idle persons, prisoners in Edinburgh, content to go of their own accord.'

"The population of Barbadoes includes a greater proportion of whites than that of any other island of the West Indies, and the industrial economy of the island is also admittedly superior. It is understood that this is in a great measure owing to the cruel deportations of the poor people of Scotland to that island in the seventeenth century."

On pp. 424-6 of the privately-printed and extremely scarce *Memorabilia of the City of Glasgow, selected from the Minute-Books of the Burgh* (Glasgow, 1835), occurs the following passage:—

"*1st Jan.* 1715.—Which day the Magistrates, &c., convened, The Magistrates represented that, by ane Act of the Lords of Justiciary, dated 30th of Nov. last, on a petition given in be the burgh of Jedburgh, that, in May last, the persons after named, viz. Peter and Mary Faas, Mabile Stirling, Janet Yorstoun, John Finnick, Elizabeth Lindsey, Jean Ross, and Mary Robertson, prisoners in the tolbooth of Jedburgh, were sentenced by the Lords of Justiciary, at the then circuit, to be transported to the plantations, for being habite and repute gipsies, sorners, &c., and that the said burgh could get no occasion of transporting them, and, therefore, craving their Lordships to grant warrant for transporting them to Glasgow tolbooth. The Lords did, thereupon, ordain, &c., and ordained the Magistrats of this burgh to receive, keep, and detain the said gipsies until occasion offered for transporting them; and ordained the Magistrates, &c., with the first convenience to set them aboard of any ship going to the plantations; and to take [a] receipt for them from the master of the ship, &c., and that, according thereunto, the said gipsies are transported here, and the Magistrates, conform to the act, were obliged to receave them in prison, where they have lyen these severall days bygone, on the touns charge, there being no fond laid down by the public for their mantenance. That, on the said gipsies coming here, they (the Magistrates) had written to Edinburgh to the Clerk, to represent to the Lords of Justiciary how that the town was brought under a burden by receiving of these gipsies, they being neither judged here, nor belonging to the place, nor any fond laid down for their mantenance, and that the lyke was never done to this burgh, which Representation was accordingly made to the Lords, who acknowledged they were sensible it was

a burden upon the place, but for the future the toun should not be troubled with the lyke; And that since, they had used endeavours with several merchants who have ships now going abroad to Virginia, to take them, who, upon no terms, would condescend thereto, there being six of the eight women, one of them having a young child, and some of them in age, except they get money for taking them; and the Magistrates considering that their mantenance continuing here would be a burden on the toun, and in a short time exceed what they could agree with the merchants for their transportation: Therefore, and for freeing of the toun of the saids gipsies and sorners, &c., they had agreed with Robert Buntine of Airdoch, James Lees, and Charles Crawford, merchants, concerned in the ship Greenock, James Watson, commander, bound for America, to transport them aboard the said ship, and for which they are to give them thirteen pound sterling. (Receipt is granted for them, and the transaction approven of.)"

Francis Hindes Groome.

4.

THE RACE OF CAIN AND THE MODERN GYPSIES.

"*Travelling Tinkers in Ancient Palestine.*

"Queen's College, Oxford, *Nov.* 22, 1886.

"Mr. Leland's interesting paper, quoted in the last number of the *Academy*, reminds me that we may find indications in the Old Testament of the existence of a tribe of travelling tinkers or blacksmiths in ancient Palestine. The Kenites, or Kainites, led a nomad life, extending from the Amalekites in the south (1 Sam. xv. 6) to Kadesh-naphtali in the north (Judges iv. 11), though their chief seats seem to have been at Sela or Petra (Num. xxiv. 21), and the south of Judah (1 Chron. ii. 55; 1 Sam. xxvii. 10). The name is identical with the Aramaic *kainay*, 'a smith,' which makes it clear what the occupation of the tribe must have been. Whether 'the smith' took his name from the tribe, as 'the merchant' from the Canaanite of Phœnicia, or whether the tribe derived its name from its occupation is immaterial; the word *kayin*, 'a spear,' however, renders the second alternative the more probable. In any case the Kenites will have been a clan of wandering blacksmiths, like the clan of smiths who once wandered over Europe. This explains the curious fact that at the beginning of Saul's reign 'there was no smith found throughout the land of Israel,' and the Israelites had to go to the Philistines, in order to sharpen their agricultural implements (1 Sam. xiii. 19-22). The Philistine invasion, in fact, had driven the Kenites, or 'smiths,' out of a country where, in the time of Ramses II., according to the Travels of a Mohar, a blacksmith could be met with whenever the chariot of an Egyptian tourist needed repair. Perhaps it is not without significance that the wife of Heber the Kenite finds a hammer ready to her hand in her tent (Judges iv. 21). At all events it is noticeable that Tubal-Kain was the 'instructor of every artificer in brass and iron'; and that his father, Lamech, like Kain, the son of Adam, had slain a man. A. H. Sayce."

(From *The Academy* of 27th Nov. 1886.)

"*The Kenites.*

"Oxford, *Dec.* 5, 1886.

"Professor Sayce's ingenious idea, in the *Academy* of November 27, about the Kenites being the wandering tinkers in Palestine will, perhaps, find some confirmation from the fact that the Kenites are described in 1 Chronicles ii. 55 as the descendants of Hammath (A. V. Hemath, 'the black one'), the father of the house of Rechab. It may be worthy of notice that the Rechabites (or camel-riders) were not a settled tribe, but wanderers who settled later on in Jerusalem when flying before Nebuchadnezzar. According to Jeremiah xxxv. 6, 7, they made a vow not to drink wine, nor to build houses, nor to sow seed, nor to plant vineyards, nor to

have any, but to dwell all their days in tents. Worth notice, also, is the name of their ancestor Jehonadab, a compound of Nadab and Jehovah. In 2 Kings x. this Jehonadab is stated to have been a fervent worshipper of Jehovah and opponent of Baal. A. NEUBAUER."

(From *The Academy* of 11th Dec. 1886.

There is much in the above extracts that will excite the interest of Gypsiologists. If such tribes of wandering Oriental tinkers were not the ancestors of modern Gypsies, one naturally asks, What manner of people *were* the ancestors of modern Gypsies at those early periods? or, conversely, If those Kainites have any descendants now alive, what race of people is so likely to be the lineal representatives of the Kainites as our modern Gypsies? This resemblance had suggested itself to the writer of a recent newspaper article, quite irrespective of any theories on the subject. In the course of this article—which was on the Suppression of Vagrancy—the writer says :—"The institution of vagrancy has something of the charm of antiquity. It is of venerable date. Not to mention our first parents, who were driven from flowery bowers, a pair of unwilling vagrants over the vacant earth, there is the wandering of Cain, about as ominous a beginning of voluntary vagrancy, it is true, as can well be imagined, but sufficient to prove its high antiquity. From his practice, doubtless, was developed in some of his children that instinct of errancy from which in due time proceeded the three great vagrant tribes of Gypsies, tinkers, and strolling fiddlers and pipers. So at least we interpret the Scriptural classification of his wayward children into the dwellers in tents, the workers in brass and iron, and the handlers of harp and organ."—(Edinburgh *Scotsman*, 15th June 1889). Of course this writer introduced these remarks in a spirit of pleasantry; but "there is many a true word spoken in jest." Indeed, the resemblance above referred to is unconsciously helped out by this newspaper article, which reminds us that Cain's descendants were not only nomadic braziers and smiths, but also the earliest recorded examples of the *jongleur* caste, of which the Gypsies have always been peculiarly the representatives.

The often-cited passage of Symon Simeonis acquires a fresh interest. Visiting Crete in 1322, on his way to the Holy Land, he saw there a tented race whom he thus describes :—

'Ibidem et vidimus gentem extra civitatem ritu Graecorum utentem, et de genere Chaym se esse asserentem, quae raro vel nunquam in loco aliquo moratur ultra xxx dies, sed semper, *velut a Deo maledicta* [these words may be really significant], vaga et profuga, post xxx^{um} diem, de campo in campum, cum tentoriis parvis oblongis nigris et humilibus ad modum Arabum, et de caverna in cavernam, discurrit, quia locus ab eis inhabitatus post dictum terminum efficitur plenus vermibus et aliis immunditiis, cum quibus impossibile est cohabitare.'

On this passage M. Bataillard has remarked (*L'Origine des Tsiganes*, 1877, p. 19) :—'No one doubts to-day that the description refers to the Gypsies. Their name is wanting, because this Symon Simeonis did not learn it, or else forgot it. As to the "race of Chaym," to which these nomades pretended to belong, one asks if they meant to speak of Cain or of Ham (*de Caïn ou de Cham*). I incline to the latter supposition, being otherwise convinced that the Tsigans are Hamites." In view, however, of the two letters quoted above, will not M. Bataillard have to reconsider this question? DAVID MACRITCHIE.

5.

WRITERS ON THE BASQUE GYPSIES.

To the names of the writers on Basque Gypsies mentioned on pp. 83-4 of vol. i. must be added those of Gustav Diercks, who includes them among *Die spanischen*

Zigeuner ("Vom Fels zum Meer," December 1885: Berlin and Stuttgart); and the author of an article, *Ueber die Zigeuner des Baschenlandes*, in the "Annales der Erdkunde," 1831.

6.

SCOTTISH GYPSIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Mr. A. Henry Constable has favoured us with the following reference in *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling*, 1667-1752, *with Appendix*, 1473-1752 (Glasgow, 1890):—

From Michaelmas 1655, to Michaelmas 1656.

* * * * * *

1656, March-September. * * *

* * * * * *

Item, payit for ropes to bind the Egyptianes, ...	£0	2	8
Item, to the hangman to go throw with them, ...	1	10	0

These extracts are from p. 321 of the *Appendix*.

7.

THE NOMAD CLASS OF SWITZERLAND.

"In the Swiss republic exists an entire class of men, of unknown numbers, who enjoy and passionately cling to a freedom more extensive than the most democratic of republics accords. This is the great class of Doerfers, or the Homeless. They are Swiss, and belong to no canton. They are subject to no authority but that of the police, who drive them from place to place. In a country where every effort is made to break up property equally among all children of rich or poor, with the object of giving all a fixed habitation and a means of existence, this great class of proletariats has grown to large numbers and to be a general difficulty, if not a danger. When a band enters one canton, the authorities pass it forward to the next, and the German frontier is watched by the police against invasion by them. If any cross the border, they are inexorably arrested and cast back on the free Swiss soil. They have even been executed in some of the cantons, at the beginning of this century, because the cantons were without other means of disposing of them. They profess to carry on the trade of tinkers, spinners, bird-sellers, broom-sellers, ratcatchers; but these trades are merely the disguises behind which they beg and steal. Of their origin, nothing certain is known: they are recruited from the ill-conditioned in every canton. Their existence was well known, but no particulars concerning them till the famous trial of 1825, in the matter of the death of Keller [the subject of the article quoted from], when much light was thrown on their mode of life. They are all related or connected, and have no very fixed surnames. They occupy no houses. In summer they camp out under the trees or in the mountains about their fires, and in winter sleep where they can—in barns and outhouses. It might please a poet or novelist to describe that life as joyous and free from care, but, as a fact, their existence is one prolonged heartbreaking misery. They rarely frequent high-roads, but steal about by mountain-paths or hide among the recesses of the forest."

(From "President Keller," a Swiss article in the *Cornhill* for January 1888, pp. 107-8.)

On Sunday, January 19, Mr. Francis Hindes Groome is to lecture on the Gypsies at 4 p.m. in the South Place Institute, Finsbury, E.C., the lecture being one of a series on "National Life and Thought among the various Nations throughout the World."

All Contributions must be legibly written on one side only of the paper, must bear the sender's name and address, though not necessarily for publication, and must be sent to DAVID MACRITCHIE, Esq., 4 Archibald Place, Edinburgh.

Vol. II. No. 2.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

APRIL 1890.

Contents.

PAGE

I. GYPSY ANECDOTES FROM HUNGARY. By Vladislav Kornel (*Ritter von Zielinski*), . . 65

II. THE FIRST MENTION OF GYPSIES IN FINLAND. By the Hon. John Abercromby, . . 73

III. CRIMEAN GYPSIES. Translated from W. Köppen's *Excursions in the Crimea* by H. T. Crofton, . 74

IV. ENGLISH GYPSY SONGS AND RHYMES. By John Sampson, ... 80

V. KOUNAVINE'S *MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF THE GYPSIES.* By Dr. A. Elysseeff, . 93

VI. THE LITHUANIAN GYPSIES. By Mečius Davainis-Silvestraitis [M. Dowojno-Sylwestrowicz], . 107

VII. SLOVAK-GYPSY VOCABULARY (*K* and *Kh*). By Professor Rudolf von Sowa, . . . 110

REVIEWS: NOTES AND QUERIES, . . 115

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JOURNAL OF THE

GYPSY LORE

SOCIETY.

VOL. II. APRIL 1890. No. 2

I.—GYPSY ANECDOTES FROM HUNGARY.

I.—THE FIDDLE.[1]

(Related to me at Guta, and also at Almas.)

IN a small hut on a high mountain, near the edge of a beautiful wood, dwelt a lovely maiden with her parents and four little brothers. The young girl fell in love with a handsome and rich young huntsman, who often visited the forest in pursuit of game. The huntsman, however, rarely noticed her, or spoke to her. Marika became greatly distressed as the young man had not spoken to her for some time, and she wept day and night. In order to attract the attention of the hunter, she sang the following song:— "In the shade of the forest the bird is twittering,—seeking love, flying about without rest or peace: for winter have I no stockings, no home; come, then, beautiful rose, be thou my wife." But the hunter was indifferent, and went past Marika without noticing her. One day, quite despairing, the maiden cried: "Devil, help me!" The Devil appeared holding a small mirror in his hand, and Marika told him her sorrow, and what she desired.

[1] The first and second of these tales are extremely close variants of *Die Erschaffung der Geige* and *Die Erschaffung der Welt* in Dr. Von Wlislocki's "Märchen und Sagen der Transsilvanischen Zigeuner," Berlin, 1886.

"Oh, that is a trifle," cried the Devil; "I can help you. Take this mirror, and when your beloved shall have looked into it, he will never leave you."

Some days later, when the hunter went again into the wood, Marika placed herself in his way, holding the mirror towards him. The young man glanced involuntarily into it, exclaiming: "Ah, that is devilry; I have now seen the Evil One!" And without saying another word, he fled into the valley, and never again visited the forest. Marika was more distressed than ever; and again she summoned the Devil to her assistance. He soon appeared, and asked the maiden what she desired. When Marika related to him what had happened, the Devil smiled cunningly, saying, "Do not trouble about the hunter, both of you belong to me, as you have both looked into the mirror, and whoever has done so is already my property; but I will help you notwithstanding, if you give me your four brothers. If you do not do my bidding, I cannot help you." The Devil went his way; but in the night, when Marika's brothers were asleep, he returned, and made of them four ropes, and out of these ropes four strings, a thick one, a thinner one, a still thinner one, and quite a thin one. After having done this, he said to Marika: "Give me thy father!" "Be it so," answered Marika; "take him, only help me!" The Devil took Marika's father, and transformed him into a box, and made out of this a fiddle. Then the Devil said: "Now, give me thy mother." "Be it so," answered Marika; "take her, but help me!" The Devil only smiled, and made out of Marika's mother a small stick, and of her hair a long horse-hair. Then he fastened the horse-hair to either end of the little stick, and the fiddlestick was finished. Then the Devil played on the fiddle a tune which greatly pleased Marika; but when he continued playing she commenced crying. The Devil smiled, saying: "When your sweetheart comes to the wood, play on this fiddle, and he will remain with you." Marika took the fiddle from the Devil and played on it. The hunter heard the melody, and full of joy he hastened to her, and took her away with him.

After the lapse of nine days the Devil appeared, and said: "Now, come both with me, for I am your master." The loving couple would not obey the command of the Devil, but he seized them and carried them to Hell. On this occasion Marika lost the fiddle in the wood, and a Gypsy who came along found it. Since that time the Gypsy plays so beautifully and so sweetly on the fiddle, that in all the towns and villages the people are enchanted, and laugh and cry for joy.

II.—HOW THE DEVIL ASSISTED GOD IN THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.[1]

(*Related to me at Guta, Uj-Szöny, and Totis.*)

WHEN there was nothing on earth and in the universe but an immense quantity of water, God determined to create the world, but did not know how to go about it. Annoyed at his awkwardness, the more so as he had neither a brother nor a friend who could give him a good advice, he threw into the water a stick on which he was leaning, while promenading the clouds. When the stick fell into the water, a gigantic tree grew immediately out of it, the roots of which settled in the deep. On one of the branches of this tree sat the Devil, who was then still white, like mankind, afterwards created by God.

"Dear little God! dear brother mine!" cried the Devil, smiling, "I am sorry for thee, indeed! thou hast neither brother nor friend. Well, then, I will be thy brother and friend."

"Oh, nothing of the sort!" replied God, "a brother thou canst not be to me; nobody can be my brother. But be my friend!"

Nine days after this conversation, when the Lord had not yet created the world, as he did not know how to proceed, he perceived during one of his walks that the Devil was not friendly towards him. The Devil, who was not stupid, observed that God distrusted him, and he therefore said to him: "Dear brother mine, art thou aware that we two do not suit each other? Have therefore the kindness to create one more, so that there may be three of us."

"Faith, it is easy to say create another," replied God, very sorrowfully, "create thou him, if thou art so wise!"

"But I am not able to do it," cried the Devil. "I would have long ere this created a beautiful large world, but of what use is my will, when I do not know how to go about it, my dear brother?"

"Well," said God, thoughtfully, scratching his head, as if trying to remember something, "I shall create the world, and thou art to assist me. Quick, then, without loss of time, dive under the water and bring out of the deep a handful of sand, to form out of it the earth."

"Indeed?" said the Devil, seemingly surprised; "and how shalt thou do this? It is incomprehensible to me!"

"I shall utter my name, and the sand will shape itself into the globe," replied God; "but now, quick, bring the sand!"

The Devil dived under, saying to himself, "Oh, I am not so stupid that I should allow the creation of the world to be done by another. I shall do it myself, by calling out my name."

[1] See note, p. 65.

When the Devil arrived at the bottom of the deep, he took hold of the sand with both hands, but when he called out his name he was obliged to drop the sand, as it burned his hands.

When the Devil returned he told God that he could not find any sand.

"Go, seek it, but bring what I have commanded."

During nine days the Devil insisted that he could find no sand, which was a lie, as he tried continually to create the world out of the sand of the deep, but as often as he took the sand in his hands and called out his name he burned himself; the sand grew hotter and burned him so terribly that one day it happened that he turned black as coal.

When God perceived the Devil, he said to him: "Thou hast turned black, I see, and hast been a bad friend. Hurry now, and bring sand out of the deep, but do not utter thy name, or the sand will consume thee."

The Devil dived under and carried out the command given to him.

God took the sand, called his name, and the world was made, which greatly pleased the Devil.

"Here," said he, sitting down in the shade of a large tree, "under this tree shall I dwell, and thou, dear brother, canst look out for other quarters."

This impudence angered the Lord so much that he called out, "Ah! you rogue, only wait—I will teach you sense; be off at once!"

At that moment an immense ox rushed out of the copse, took the Devil on his horns, and ran with him into the wide world.

Fear and pain made the Devil shriek so loud that the leaves fell from the tree and changed into men.

Thus did the Lord create the world and the people therein, with the assistance of the Devil.

III.—DORKA.

(*Related to me at Szlihac and Ó-Fahr.*)

The black-eyed and dark-haired Dorka had awaited in vain for some months the return of her sweetheart. Janci, as becomes an honest Gypsy, had gone with his brethren to the *pushta* to try and buy horses without money. All his friends had returned to their huts, but none knew what had happened to Janci, where he was, or when he would return. As Dorka grew too impatient to wait any longer for his return, she resolved to look for him, and she went forth into the wide world; for until now she had never left her native place. When she walked over the *pushta*, which lay before her in the golden light of the sun, she met a beautiful white goose. "My dear little goose," said Dorka, addressing it, while it looked curiously

at her, "pray tell me, hast thou not seen my sweetheart?" The goose hissed a denial. Dorka went on her way in the direction of the mountains, which could be descried in the distance. The next day, about sunset, she came to a draw-well, on which a cock was perched. To him she said: "My dear little cock, tell me, hast thou not met my sweetheart?" The cock shook his feathers, flapped his wings, crowed loud, and said he had not seen him. Then Dorka pursued her way, and towards the evening of the third day she met in the neighbourhood of the mountains a raven, who flew to her. "Ah, raven! my dear raven! tell me, hast thou not seen my sweetheart?" "I have indeed seen him," croaked the black-plumed raven; "he is yonder on the mountain, his bones hang high on the gallows; I and my brethren feasted on him. See! some stragglers are still feasting on the remains!" When Dorka heard this she fell to weeping, and she wept and wept till she melted away, and became one of the salt springs of Szlihac.[1]

IV.—THE ORIGIN OF THE HUNGARIAN, THE GERMAN, THE JEW, AND THE GYPSY.

(*Related to me at Almas, Szabolcs, Uj-Varos, and Szerdahely.*)

WHEN the great Mara (God the Father) created the world, he also created man, and among others a Hungarian, a German, a Jew, and a Gypsy.

The Hungarian was born in a magnificent castle, where he immediately sat down to table, on which *gulas* and other fine dishes and cans of golden wine were standing. The Hungarian ate and drank, and was quite at his ease.

The German was born in a light cart, drawn by a large dog. The dog with the cart and the new-born baby stopped before an inn. After stretching himself a little the German sat down to table, drinking mug after mug of beer. He considered how he could oust the Hungarian from the castle, and get possession of it.

The Jew was born under the counter of the taproom in which the German drank his beer. The Jew immediately took a piece of chalk and jotted down (twice over) the number of glasses of beer consumed by the German, as well as the glasses of wine drunk by the Hungarian, and then he made his reckoning, and the German and the Hungarian paid him in hard cash, which he put into his pocket, satisfying his hunger with a head of a herring and a piece of garlic.

The Gypsy was born on the grassy *pushta*, in the shade of a

[1] Szlihac is a watering-place of Upper Hungary, and one of its springs bears the name of "Dorka's Spring."

single tree, that grew there. The light zephyr kissed his forehead, the rain washed and baptized him, and the stork sitting on his nest was his godfather. No one took care of the Gypsy. When he rose from the grass he perceived a fiddle hanging on the tree; he seized it, and played such an inspiriting csardas that the stork rattled his beak for joy. He went into the inn playing without ceasing. The German drank the beer, and with the nets which he took out of his little cart he surrounded with snares the Hungarian who was sitting in his castle. The Jew sang the "Majufes," counting into his little money-bag the dollars which fell out of the pockets of the German and Hungarian. The Hungarian did not mind anything; he ate and drank unconcernedly. When the Hungarian, the German, and the Jew heard the music of the Gypsy, they listened attentively, smiled joyously, and at last commenced to dance. The Hungarian skipped about like one possessed, twirled round like a peg, cowered on the ground twisting his moustaches, and clashing his spurs. The German, who was as full of beer as a cask, turned slowly and awkwardly round, without forgetting, however, to ensnare the Hungarian with his nets, as a spider does a fly. The Jew skipped about lightly, putting in his bag the dollars that rolled about the floor. When the Gypsy, being tired, ceased playing, the Hungarian gave him a can of wine, the German a half-emptied mug of beer, and the Jew half a silver dollar, biting off a piece with his teeth. The Hungarian continued drinking wine and dancing like mad; the German assuaged his thirst with beer and hopped about; and the Jew nodded his head singing "*bim! bim!*" and counting his dollars.

To this day the Hungarian dances and drinks wine; the German drinks beer and skips about, trying at any price to ensnare the Hungarian; and the Jew counts his dollars and laughs at the Hungarian and the German. And the Gypsy? He plays his csardas, drinks wine or beer, and occasionally gets impaired dollars from the Jew.

V. HOW A GYPSY CHEATED THE DEVIL.

(*Related to me at Kis-Almas, Aranyos, and Erdöd-Szada.*)

Once, when the Gypsy went into the *Csarda* (an inn in the *pushta*), he played on his fiddle such a sad, plaintive, and melancholy tune, that the blades of grass and the bulrushes were covered with tears as with dew. 'Twas thus he sang—

"As a prisoner I am guarded;
At my right hand stalks my shadow,
And my thoughts drag close behind me,
Like some harsh and cruel warder!"—

pondering the while why he was condemned to poverty, scorn, loathing, and unceasing travel. The strains of the sweet but sad melody sounded far and near, carried on the wings of the playful zephyr, losing themselves among the bulrushes, and making an echo that seemed to pity the Gypsy's lot. The Devil, who lived in an old willow on the banks of a bog, heard this lament, and, seized with compassion for the Gypsy, he resolved to help him. As the Gypsy pursued his way, playing and singing, he saw a Suabian leap out of the dry grass, clothed in a short frockcoat, a pipe in his mouth, and a velvet cap on his head. The Gypsy, astonished to see a stranger so far from the *Csarda* (inn), stopped.

"Eh! what is the matter?" said the Devil, surveying him from head to foot; "have I frightened you, that you cease playing and singing?"

"Ah! why should I be frightened, Mr. German?" replied the Gypsy, smiling cunningly as he perceived on his head two horns, which the cap did not cover entirely.

"Very well, but if I were the Devil would you be afraid of me?"

"Oh," replied the Gypsy, scratching his head, "is the Devil more terrible than a German? To tell the truth, just now, I would prefer to meet the Devil, as he might help me in my misfortune and my need!"

"Excellent," replied the Devil, "if this is the case, speak. I am he whom you want; I will help you!"

"Indeed!" said the Gypsy; "for what purpose have you assumed this garb? If you are really the Devil, you must be aware that every Gypsy and every Hungarian would rather have intercourse with a devil than with a German. Besides it is a matter of indifference to me whether you are a devil or a Suabian—only help me."

"All right," replied the Devil, "but you must give me what is dearest to you!"

"Yes; but what do I possess that is dearest to me, unless it is this fiddle?"

"That is it," answered the Devil, "you will give me your fiddle!"

"But what shall I do without it?"

"You shall be rich; I will give you heaps of gold."

"Ahem!" said the Gypsy, deep in thought. After a while he replied, smiling unperceived, "And what will you, Mr. Devil, do with the fiddle?"

"I shall play on it, and everybody will follow me wherever I wish."

"Very well, then, but first carry out your promise!"

"With pleasure; but remember that your fiddle belongs to me, otherwise you will fare badly! Now, bestride this bulrush, as if it were a horse, and follow me."

The Gypsy obeyed the bidding of the Devil, and in one moment both flew through the air towards the East.

The sun was about setting, when the Devil and the Gypsy alighted from their airy steeds, by the Szamos-between-the-Mountains. The Devil took hold of the Gypsy's hand, leading him to a waterfall, and took out of the shallow bed of the river a handful of gravel, giving it to the Gypsy.

"Here is what I promised. The bottom of this river and the cave behind the waterfall are covered with gold. It is all yours; but give me your fiddle."

The Gypsy stared astonished at the gravel, which glittered like gold. After a while, as if distrusting what he saw, he went and took up some gravel and sand; they were pure gold. "Indeed you have kept your word," said the Gypsy; "it is now my turn; only permit me to take leave of my fiddle." And so wonderfully did the Gypsy play, that not only the Devil, but heaven also wept.

The Gypsy kissed the fiddle at the last plaintive tone, placed his lips to one of the openings, sucked the air out of it, and reached it to the Devil, who disappeared with it like mist.

The Gypsy filled his pipe, lighted it, and commenced taking the gold out of the bed of the Szamos.

After the lapse of three days the Gypsy was very rich, but his longing for his fiddle was still greater. Tired and heartsore, he sat down on one of the heaps of gold, saying, "Devil, thou art clever, but I am not stupid; I gave thee my fiddle, but not my soul which plays on its strings."

Then suddenly the Devil appeared, and returning the fiddle to the Gypsy, he said, "I have made a bad bargain; thou hast the gold, but instead of alluring men with the sound of thy fiddle, I have frightened them away. Take back therefore thy fiddle, for though I am a devil, I cannot play like thee. But, before parting, how comes it that when thou playest the fiddle sings so wonderfully?"

"Well," replied the Gypsy, taking the instrument out of the Devil's hand, "it is but natural. I gave thee the fiddle as promised, but kept the soul for myself!"

And the Gypsy placed his lips to one of the openings of the fiddle, breathed into it, and played such a passionate csardas, that

the Devil skipped about like one possessed, and the Gypsy himself was greatly astonished at his own playing—he thought he had never played like this.

"Ah; I see now," said the Devil, when the Gypsy had finished playing, "I was a great fool to let myself be cheated by a Gypsy. Thou gavest me the fiddle, but without thy soul. Well, it is done, and cannot be helped; thou hast my gold and the fiddle, but thy playing will allure men into my net!"

From that time onward the devils in hell no longer dance the valse but the csardas. And the Gypsy receives money for the csardas, which he alone can play so wonderfully. And the Devil, though he had been cheated by the Gypsy, lost nothing by it, as men are still flying into his net the same as before. VLADISLAV KORNEL,

Ritter von Zielinski.

II.—THE FIRST MENTION OF GYPSIES IN FINLAND.

THE following extract is from the *Historiallinen Arkisto*, III. pp. 196, 197; Helsingfors, 1871:—

"Dr. Bomansson stated that exact information is given in the *Chronicle of Olaus Petri* when the Gypsies first came to Sweden, viz. in 1512. His words run: 'In the same year that Her Sten became captain, a part of the people that rove about from one country to another, and are called Tatars, landed here and at Stockholm, where they had never been before' (*Chron. of Olaus Petri*, edit. Klemming, Stockholm 1860, p. 305). Undoubtedly some time elapsed before the Gypsies ventured to cross the sea to Finland, and we meet them for the first time in Åland in the year 1559. We read in Joen Vestgöthe's account of Kastelholm for the above year (see *State Archives of Finland*, No. 2691, p. 80): 'Also Joen Vestgöthe took from the Gypsies (Tatternna) eight work-horses.' The reason why the Governor of Kastelholm took such a measure was undoubtedly the letter which the Duke Juhana had sent on the 5th of April 1559 'to Joen Västgiote to prevent the improper conduct of the Gypsies (Tattarne), and therefore to imprison them.' So we may well suppose that on this occasion the Gypsies did not reach the mainland of Finland. That they were very commonly met with in Sweden may be gathered from the articles which Archbishop Laurentius Petri Nericius sanctioned at the Parliament of Stockholm in 1560; in the 6th section he ordered that: 'A priest is to have no dealings with

Gypsies (Tattare), he is neither to baptize their children nor to bury their dead' (see Appendix to V. Stierman's *Riksdagars och Mötens Beslut*, p. 190). They are met with in Finland for the first time a couple of decades later; for among the prisoners in the fortress or jail of Åbo, between the months of January and September 1580, is catalogued the name of 'Bågdan[1] Balatsen Tattar.' Again, in the spring of 1584, there are registered as prisoners in the fortress of Åbo 'Gypsies (Tattare) whom Captain Pontus de la Gardie had imprisoned in the fortress of Åbo on account of charges made by the peasants N,' then follow eleven names which are quite ordinary ones. Some confirmation of the supposition that the Gypsies came here by way of Sweden lies in the fact that when Götrik Fincke, in the year 1597, relates that Gypsies in Savolax wandered about in a band of 200 persons, he says that he intends driving them towards Sweden (see Koskinen's *Nuijasota*, ii. pp. 202, 203). In Swedish they are also called 'black Tatars' (*svart Tattare*), from which evidently the Finnish 'Mustalainen' (black, swarthy) has been adapted."

JOHN ABERCROMBY.

III.—CRIMEAN GYPSIES.

Translated from *Excursions in the Crimea, in the Baidár Valley.* By W. KOPPEN (*Russische Revue*, 3d year; Part XII. St. Petersburg, 1874; pp. 501-561).

TWO years ago (*i.e.* in 1872), on the occasion of a journey into the Crimea, I was requested by Herr Schiefner of St. Petersburg, on behalf of Herr Miklosich of Vienna, to collect some specimens of the language of the South-Russian Gypsies. I succeeded very easily in doing so, at Taganrog, from a company of Greek-Catholic Gypsies who spoke Russian. But I was not thoroughly successful in procuring enlightenment upon the true Crimean Gypsies, for I could not at that time visit the real Gypsy-haunted countries on the north side of the mountain-range, and the little information which I was able to collect was full of contradictions. As I travelled again in the Crimea this year (1874), I resolved, if possible, to decide the question whether or not the Crimean Gypsies speak a language of their own, besides Tartar, which they all know.

After many vain attempts to clear up the contradictions which

[1] This is evidently a Slavonic name, and, taken with the word *Tattar*, seems to point to the Gypsies having migrated to Sweden from Russia or Poland.—J. A.

I again met, at last I obtained the desired solution unexpectedly from a very well educated Tartar, Dshepar of Bijuk-Muskomja, and later on I had an opportunity of confirming the perfect correctness of his statements by the completely independent testimony of Gypsies on the southern coasts. What had hitherto appeared to be contradictions were explained thus:—That there are many varieties of Gypsies in the Crimea, of whom only some know the proper Gypsy language, and even these but very imperfectly.

The Crimean Gypsies are divided into three chief clans or castes, but of their descent (*Erblichkeit*) within themselves I can give no very definite information. These three clans are, according to confirmatory statements, the *Gurbét*, *Elektschi*, and the *Ajuchdsche.*

The *Gurbét* are engaged in trading in horses and fowls, especially by barter. They live in proper houses, and the Gypsies of Simferopol, who call themselves *Truchmén*, belong for the chief part to this category. The Gypsy language is quite unknown to them, as I myself can clearly testify. They listened with interest to Gypsy words which I put to them, but they themselves only knew the Tartar words for the expressions. On the other hand, they at once laughingly translated for me some words which I had previously learned from a Gypsy from Simferopol, and which, so far as I know, are not Tartar; *e.g.* "jeken bsan aschysna," *i.e.* "Give the gold back!"

The day I was at Simferopol, it was very hot, and the greater part of the Gypsies of the town, with their women and children, were attracted to the Salgir brook, where—close to the town, between the high-road and the gardens—they were bathing in the most utterly unconstrained fashion, and were dancing on the greensward, washing their clothes, and eating their meals.

What connection the Gypsies of Bachtschissari have with the *Gurbét*, I cannot say, for up to now I have not myself conversed with any; but they also only speak Tartar, and have fixed abodes, and especially carry on the business of smiths (*Schmiede-handwerk*). My Tartar authority distinguished them from the *Gurbét* as being *Tsigán* (whilst the Gypsies in ordinary Tartar are called *Tschingané*), but to me Gypsies have disputed the existence of such a fourfold classification.

The second chief division is formed of *Elektschi* (or *Elekdschi*), that is, *sievemakers*, though it is remarkable that, according to concurring statements, the Gypsy musicians are included in this class, who are, however, also called, after the instruments they use, *Kemenedshi*, that is, *fiddlers*, or *davuldshi*, that is, *cymbal-players*. The usual musicians

at Tartar weddings belong to this class, and, according to Tartar custom, stroll about before the wedding to invite the neighbourhood. I must, moreover, remark that the Crimean Gypsies are far from showing the musical talent of the Hungarians, and their playing has in general very slight attractions. The *Elektschi* understand some Gypsy words, but only very few, and not all of them even that.

For the most part, however, the third class, the *Ajuchdshe*, whose name is also pronounced *Ajuchdshú* or *Ajufdshú*, are well acquainted with their own original language. The name signifies *bear-leaders*, though the greater part of them are also tinkers (*kesselflicker*) or smiths (*schmiede*). My Tartar informant, Dshepar, knew a great deal of their language, and said, not without a certain amount of pride, that he was the only Tartar in the Baidár Valley who knew so much of their language. From this I was led to believe that all the *Ajuchdshú* spoke their language fluently, and therefore I only made notes of a few words from Dshepar just to prove his acquaintance with the whole subject. Unfortunately the *Ajuchdshú*, whom I saw later on, only knew a very few Gypsy words, as they certainly spoke Tartar amongst themselves.

The little that I took down from Dshepar's dictation was freely translated by him thus :—

Question: *Sóstowestis'a?*=Are you well? How goes it with you?
Answer: *Schukar mo prav*=Thank God, well.
Requests: *Péne, anmánde paní!*=Aunt (mammy), give me water!
Éla mánde!=Come hither!

Well=*schukar*; ten=*desch*.

It is remarkable that with the Tartars *schúkur* is a favourite answer to an inquiry after one's health. Can they have acquired it from the Gypsies? It seems unlikely, having regard to the low social position of the Gypsies. It is much easier to believe that this word, which is now current amongst Gypsies both in South and Middle Russia, as well as in Hungary, and perhaps also in other countries, was adopted from the Turks, inasmuch as the immigration of the Gypsies from the Balkan Peninsula into the countries first mentioned seems to have, for the greatest part, first taken place in the fifteenth century.

In connection with this word, Herr P. Lerch informs me that in Arabic *schukr* means "thanks," "praise," so possibly in the above case the word "God" may have been dropped. Compare Persian *schukri ized*, or *schukri khudá*, or *schukri ilahi*=Thank God!

Some Gypsy tinkers, who claimed to be of the *Ajuchdshu* caste,

told me that their own language, the Gypsy, which they called *Romanes*, was only known by some of the older folks amongst them, and that they were ashamed to make use of their language, even in the presence of Tartars. Indeed one young man of this company only knew the number *desch* (ten), and beyond that he seemed to know almost nothing. A man fifty years old, whom I saw another day, could count up to six in Gypsy (like the South Russian Gypsies), and for the numbers higher than that he used Tartar. Some words, for instance *jak*, fire; *jakcha*, eyes; *kcham*, sun; were well known to him, and to a small youth who was with him, but beyond that he was hardly able to translate anything. He considered himself as not a real Gypsy, but to belong "more to the Tartars," and called himself *Altzyndze*—that is, a tinman (*Verzinner*), or coppersmith (*Kupferschmied*). However this same man had at first passed himself off to me as belonging to the *Ajuchdshu* caste, and that he did belong to it was shown by the warmth with which he sought to praise them. For instance, relying on the information obtained from Dshepar, I expressed the opinion that the Ajuchdshú had no settled residences, but merely roamed about with vans and tents; this he took to be almost an insult, and explained that they had not only houses, but many of them were richer than the richest Gurbét. I doubt, however, the correctness of this assertion.

It is gathered from this that the Crimean Gypsies are fully engaged in the process of becoming nationalised, and indeed of becoming Tartars, although most of them can also speak some Russian. They are already ashamed of their language and customs—totally differing in this from the Gypsies who live amongst the civilised people of Europe, where they keep themselves perfectly strange and opposed to their surroundings, and, according to corresponding accounts, even show a considerable pride in their descent. They are, however, still a long way from being completely merged in the Tartar population. Their physical peculiarities still mark the Gypsies quite plainly, their yellow to black-brown complexions, and their jet-black hair and eyes, which lend a very characteristic expression to a face which is rather prognathous and oval, with a nose that is usually hooked and is more fleshy than that of the Tartars, besides their dazzling white teeth.

As far as religion is concerned, all Crimean Gypsies are reckoned as Mohammedans, but they are not considered by the Tartars to be true Mussulmans. They go but seldom into the mosques--mostly only the older persons,—and only venture to stand in the rear. For

funerals, weddings, and births, Tartar priests are sent for by all the three castes, in order that for a consideration they may avoid the performance of the usual ceremonies (*um für Geld die entsprechenden Ceremonien abzuhalten*). They are, however, buried separately, usually in the Tartar graveyards.

The costume of the adult Gypsies of both sexes differs but slightly from that of the Tartars, chiefly only in a general still greater raggedness, and a still greater preference for bright colours, especially red, amongst the women and girls. The Gypsy lads run about up to the age of six or eight either stark-naked or, in towns, clad frequently in an old European coat, or the like, as their sole covering, and hanging in tatters round their shoulders. The Tartars, on the contrary, clothe their children with great care, and (certainly from five or six years upwards) exactly as grown-up persons, but never in any kind of old clothes of an adult which do not fit them. In this, however, the Tartars only follow the general custom of the Russian peasants. If we compare these particulars with the state of the Gypsies in other places, we find the most important analogies in those of Turkey. According to a communication made by the Under-Minister of Justice, Herr Novakovitsch, to Herr Miklosich (*Denkschrift der phil. hist. Kl. der Wiener Akad.*, xxiii.), there are in Servia Mohammedan and Christian Gypsies, and of the former two classes, of which one is settled in towns, and follows handicrafts, and has adopted the garb and language of the Bosnians. Similar Slavonicised Gypsies live in Montenegro, and their position in society is more exactly described by Herr Bogischitsch in No. XXI. of last year's (1873) *Ausland*. In Montenegro the Gypsies are Greek-Catholic Christians, for they everywhere share the predominant or recently prevailing creed. Another section of the Mohammedan Gypsies of Servia live in tents, dress differently to the last-named so-called Turkish Gypsies, and speak Servian less fluently; they call themselves *Gurbéti*; it is probable that they have their own language. It is curious that this description by no means fits the Crimean Tartarised *Gurbét*: probably, however, the Servian *Gurbét* are also horse-dealers, and the name is derived from their occupation. The Christian Gypsies of Servia, who constitute the majority, have, like a section of the Turkish Gypsies, renounced a nomad life. They make troughs and spoons, and for that reason are called *Koritari*.

The Servian and Crimean Gypsies afford us, when compared with the European Gypsies, an interesting example (which is worth noting in connection with ethnological researches into past ages) of a nation

of a slight degree of culture as easily retaining their nationality when in contact with nations whose degree of culture differs but little from their own, as when in contact with highly civilised nations. Amongst these last, where their difference from the society and circumstances around them is too great, they obstinately hold fast to their national peculiarities. The tendency to become nationalised exists not only when the one nation is further advanced in culture, but also when the difference between the two is not very pronounced; otherwise the people of the lower stage is merged, or if it has as much vitality as the Gypsies it maintains itself wild and strange in the midst of its cultivated surroundings. Moreover, it appears to me to be not yet fully established that the *Gurbét* in the Crimea are of actual Gypsy origin, although they certainly agree in appearance essentially with the other Crimean Gypsies. At least it appears to me worth asking the question whether or not the so-called Turcomans, who call themselves true Gypsies in Asia Minor, are connected with the Crimean horse-dealers, who likewise take to themselves this name. According to Scheazer (*cf.* Petermann's *Mitteilungen*, 1874, viii. 313), this race (of Turcomans) is distinguished by their nomad habits, and their want of religion. They call themselves Mohammedans, and speak Turkish. It is stated in the Russian Geographical Society's Bulletin, 1881, that M. Méreshkofsky, in his anthropological expedition to the Crimea in 1880, found at Simferopol some *soi-disant* Turkomans, who in reality were Tsiganes (*Weekly Budget*, June 11, 1881).

Would one of our members kindly supplement the information contained in Herr Köppen's article by any further facts recorded in the following notices of Crimean Gypsies (see the Marquis Colocci's *Zingari*), which are not generally accessible?—

153. Dombrowski, *The Gypsies of the Crimea* (S. Petersburgski Valomosti 70, 1855), *Life and Occupations of the Gypsies*, Kotharewski, Krimski Zigani, St. P., 1853.
320. Köhl, *Reisen in Südrussland*, Dresden, 1841.
410. *Numbers of the . . . Tsiganes in the Crimea* (Shurnag Minist. Gosua. Imuschestw., 1861, vol. 76, No. 2).
491. *Ethnographical Sketch of the Gypsies living in the Chersonesus* (Chersonski Gub. wäl. No. 44, 1874).
560. *Gypsies of the Crimea* (Tawritscheski Gub. wäl, No. 102, 1868).

H. T. Crofton.

IV.—ENGLISH GYPSY SONGS AND RHYMES.

IF it was permissible in Charles Lamb to complain of the "Decay of Beggars in the Metropolis," surely, with equal propriety, the *Romano rai* may lament the decay of our English Gypsies. For the old race is dying out and leaves no successors. Closer contact with civilisation, changed conditions of life, misdirected and unscientific philanthropy are rapidly reducing their customs and traditions to a dead letter, and their language to an ungrammatical jargon. The modern generation, "bitten by that mad puppy they calls gentility," takes little or no interest in itself as a race, and shows an artless contempt for those who do. "Isn't it wonderful, sir," said Mr. Lazarus Smith to me, *à propos* of perhaps the most charming of all books on English Gypsies,—"Isn't it wonderful that a real gentleman like Mr. G—— could have wrote such a thing—nothing but low language and povertiness, and not a word of grammar or high-larned talk in it from beginning to end? He's a nice gentleman, but he couldn't have known what people would think of him, demeaning hisself that way."[1]

Naturally, under these circumstances, we cannot expect to find English Gypsy song in a very robust condition. Indeed so much is the reverse the case, that the doubt has been raised as to whether it has ever had any real existence.[2]

Yet independently of the present specimens, which, collected in recent years, within a comparatively narrow field, might perhaps be taken as establishing a *primâ facie* case, there is pretty strong presumptive evidence to show that at any rate Gypsy song was at one time much more common in England than it is now.

"Ah, *rai*," said Tom Lee (who is himself what Gypsies term an "old root"), "you should have known old 'Crowy' Herne. She had as many Gypsy songs as you have buttons on your coat." "My

[1] Yet the sad fate of this same Smith, self-styled "Gypsy King," at the Liverpool Exhibition and elsewhere, is not without its moral. He fell a victim, it seems, to over-culture. Witness the following extract from my note-book of a conversation with a wayside Gypsy woman:—

"It sent Lazzy a bit mad. He went clean off his *shoro* at Blackpool."

"How was that?"

"Well, it was with stewdiation."

"Oh!"

"Yes, they brought it in stewdiation."

"What *is* stewdiation?"

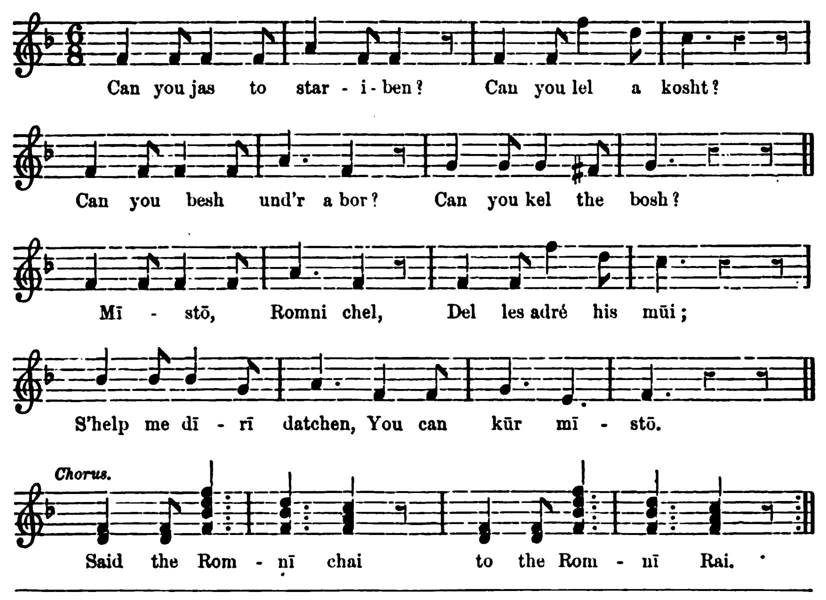
"Well, all these great people as he met there was always a-wanting him to go about and see 'em, and him a stewdying to try and keep up with them was too much for him altogether."

[2] "The Anglo-Romani muse is dead, if indeed she ever lived."—Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 146, note.

eldest brother," said a Gypsy woman to me, "could sing a Christmas carol all in *Romines*, and my father had three whole different *Romani ghilis*." If Ben Taylor's word is to be relied upon, and possibly there are a few instances in which it might, his grandfather knew a "longish Gypsy song," and similar testimony has been not infrequently given to me by other Gypsies.

The specimens here presented have been taken down in every case, *Romengero mostar*, from the mouths of Gypsies, and are given unaltered and unadded to in the form in which I heard them. One general feature may be indicated as marking a distinction between Gypsy and pseudo-Gypsy compositions—I mean their severely objective character, and total absence of "sentiment" or self-consciousness.

Probably the only song which, in one form or another, has attained any degree of popular acceptance among our English Gypsies is the quaint Gypsy catechism, quoted by Mr. Borrow on the title-page of his *Romano Lavo-Lil*.[1] There are several versions of this little song. That given here I obtained from a young Gypsy woman named Alice Gray (*Lolly Lally*), as she had learned it in childhood from her "old people" in Northumberland. The melody was taken down for me, from Lally's singing, by a friend who accompanied me to the *Bal's* tent.



[1] "Can you rokra Romany?
Can you play the bosh?
Can you jal adrey the staripen?
Can you chin the cost?"

"Can you *jas* to *stariben ?*
Can you *lel* a *kosht ?*
Can you *besh* under a *bor ?*
Can you *kel* the *bosh ?*
Mīsto ! Romani-chel,
Del les adré his *mūi*—
S'help me *dīri datchen !*
You can *kūr mīsto*"—
Said the *Romani chai* to the *Romani rai ;*
Said the *Romani chai* to the *Romani rai.*

"Can you go to prison ?
Can you gather sticks ?
Can you sit under a hedge
Can you play the fiddle ?
Well done ! Gypsy man
Hit him in his face—
So help me, dear father !
You can fight well"—
Said the Gypsy girl to the Gypsy gentleman ;
Said the Gypsy girl to the Gypsy gentleman.

The connection between the first and second half of this song is not very obvious. Are we to understand that the ideal standard of perfection demanded by the Gypsy maid somewhat damped the romantic ardour of the young gentleman, and that failing to return satisfactory affirmatives, he was treated in the manner described; or was the *kuripen* itself merely part of the ordeal of the novice? In the absence of any tradition, and with the probability of a corrupt text, I can only humbly hazard these conjectures.

"*Lelling a kosht*" (line 2) may possibly mean "handling a single-stick," instead of "gathering firewood," as in my translation, in which case lines 2 and 4 might profitably be transposed. "*Beshing* under a *bor*" (line 3) may either refer to casual lodging under a hedge (*sōving avrí*) or it may be used (as I myself have heard it) as a euphemism for courtship. Readers of Borrow will remember how Lavengro sat under a hedge with Ursula in the copse by Mumper's Dingle.

A variant of lines 5-8 occurs in Mr. Groome's *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 50,[1] and another taken down by Mr. George Smith of Coalville, from some Gypsy children at Upton Manor, is given on p. 149 of Miss Laura Smith's recent compilation of Gypsy songs.[2] The first line of one of Borrow's short songs, *The Temeskoe Rye*, may also have been suggested to him by the refrain of this song.[3]

My next little piece has a Wordsworthian simplicity and direct-

[1] "Well done, my gorgio,
Del him adré the mui again ;
S'help mi dearie dúvel,
You can mill kushtó."

[2] "Cush dearie Romany chile
Delli in the moi,
Sop me deary again Daddy,
If I can cawer well" [*sic*].

A fine example of "Romani as she is wrote." The word "again" should, of course, be placed at the end of the second instead of in the middle of the third line. A note appended to "cawer" (*kūr*) informs us that Gypsy children invariably speak of singing as "cawer-caw" !

[3] "Penn'd the temeskoe rye to the Romany chi."—*Romano Lavo-Lil*, p. 184.

ness of narrative. Some one has been stealing some corn, and some one else runs a risk of being arrested : the hayrick, however, offers a possible means of concealment or escape. It must be conceded that the inimitable exclamation which forms the entire first line does not fall short of the horror of the situation.

"*Aái-dâdi, dâ dúbelâ, dâ-dé'!*
Jal to *kaséngri*, *ai-dâdi!*
Or *tuti*'ll be *lino apré*;
Mandi's been *chōring* some *ghiv*,
Now *tuti*'ll be *klisn'd apré*."

Translation.

Ai-dâdi, dá dúbelâ dâ dé!
Go to the hayrick, *ai-dâdi!*
Or you will be taken up;
I have been stealing some corn,
Now you will be locked up.

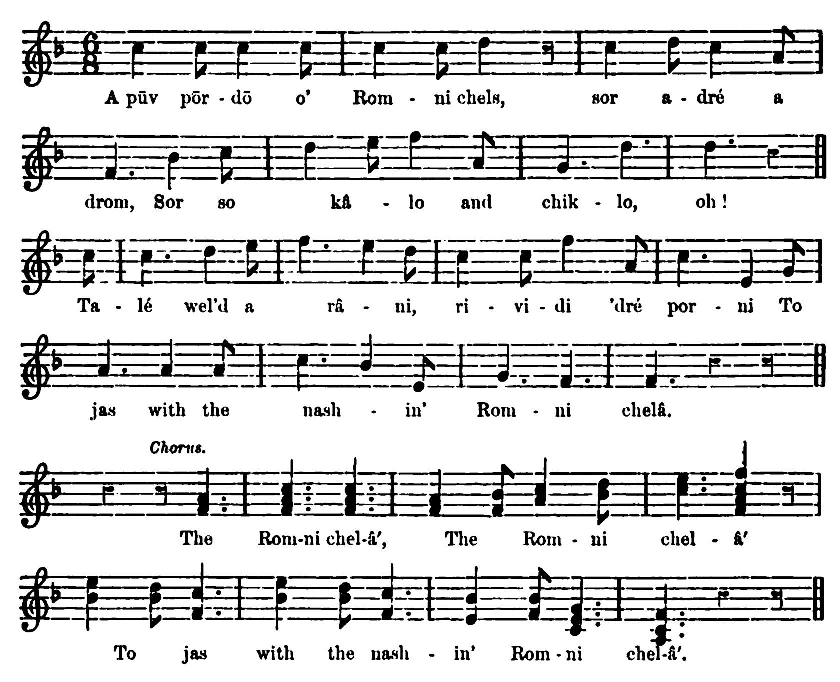
This is another of the little songs which Lolly Lally learned from her *purri fōki*. The first line is very old; the rest has apparently been subjected to the same process of bringing down to date which one observes in our English ballads, and other traditional literature. It will be seen, however, that a few slight alterations would suffice to restore it to what was probably its original form. For example, the change of a few letters would convert the third line into

"*O tū te vel lino apré*"

and the other lines might be similarly treated. I much regret being unable to give the strange little tune of this song, but it was not taken down at the time, and has now passed from my friend's memory.

My next specimen is extremely interesting as an example of spontaneous and unaided translation by an English Gypsy. The chorus of this song I first heard seven years ago from old "Booey" Boswell, and various fragments of the words from other Gypsies, and for some time remained under the fond belief that I had lighted upon an original Romani composition of some length. Tracking it to its source, with a little difficulty, I finally secured the complete version, as here given, from a Gypsy named Lias Robinson. He had heard the English sung in a country *kichima*, and, in collaboration with his three brothers, had turned it into *Romanes* one Christmas for the amusement of the family circle. "A poor ignorant thing as we put to pieces ourselves," was the modest comment of his brother Airos, from whom the melody was taken down. I give, also from Lias Robinson's dictation, the original version of this really fine old

song, in order that my readers may appreciate the fidelity of the translation.[1]



A pūv pōrrdó o' *Romni-chels, sor adré* a *drom,*
Sor so *kâlo* and *chiklo, oh!*
*Talé wel'*d a *râni, rividi adré parr'ni,*
To *jas* with the *nash*in' *Romni chelâ'.*

(Chorus) The *Romni chelâ',*
The *Romni chelâ',*
To *jas* with the *nash*in' *Romni-chelâ'.*

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[1] I am indebted to Mr. MacRitchie for pointing out that this song is a variant of "The Gypsy Laddie," the Scotch ballad of Johnny Faa and the Countess of Cassilis. A comparison is interesting. There are several versions of the Scotch song, and of these the following verses, corresponding to the 1st, 3d, and 4th of mine, run thus:—

"They were fifteen valiant men,
Black, but very bonny,
And they lost their lives for the sake of ane,
The Earl of Cassilis' raunie."

. . . . . .

"'Go, saddle to me the black,' he says,
'The brown rides never sae speedie;
And I will never eat nor drink,
Till I bring hame my ladie.'

"Last night I lay in a weel-made bed,
And my noble lord beside me;
And now I must lie in an old tenant's barn,
And the black crew glow'ring ow'r me."

The original adjective "bonny" (line 2) assumes the form "brawny" in Lias Robinson's version, and "boney" in that of his brother Airos.

Yoi's rom weld kéri dūi panj o' *râti*,
And *puch'*d for his *romadi pōrno, oh!*
The *rakli puker'*d a *tachō lav:*
*Yoi'*d *jas'*d with the *nashin'* *Romni-chelâ'!*—etc.

"*Saliwardo mandi, mandi's purro grai,*
Saliwardo mandi's bitto yek;
Mandi adwali kister kai chōr ach apré,
To *lach* the *nashin'* *Romni-chelâ'.*"—etc.

"The *waver râti yoi suter'*d *adré*
A *koshko pōryo wudress, oh!*
*Kanna sig râti yoi'*ll *jâ* to *sutta*
Adré a *shilini granzi, oh!*"—etc.

"*So* did *lesti muk yov's kērs* and *pūvs?*
So did *lesti muk yov's chavis, oh?*
So did *lesti muk yov's romado mush*
To *jas* with the *nashin'* *Romni-chelâ'?*"—etc.

"*Sossi mandi kessers* for my *kērs and pūvs!*
Sossi mandi kessers for my *chavis, oh!*
Sossi mandi kessers for my *romado mush!*
Mandi'll *jas* with the *nashin'* *Romni-chelâ'!*"—etc.

English Version.

A band of Gypsies, all in a road,[1]
All so black and brawny, oh!
Away come a lady dressed all in silk
To follow the roving Gypsies, oh!
(CHORUS) The Gypsies, oh!
The Gypsies, oh!
To follow the roving Gypsies, oh!

Her husband came home at ten o'clock of night,
And asked for his lady fair, oh!
The servant informed him very soon
She had gone with the roving Gypsies, oh!—*etc.*

"Saddle to me my bonny grey mare;
Saddle to me my pony, oh!
I will go where the green grass grow
To find out the roving Gypsies, oh!—*etc.*

"Last night she slept in a fine feather bed,
And blankets by 'bonins,'[2] oh!
To-night she sleeps in a cold shed barn
Through following the roving Gypsies, oh!—*etc.*

"Why did you leave your houses and your lands?
Why did you leave your babies, oh?
Why did you leave your decent married man
To follow the roving Gypsies, oh?—*etc.*

"What cares I for my houses and my lands!
What cares I for my babies, oh!
What cares I for my decent married man!
I will go with the roving Gypsies, oh!"—*etc.*

[1] ? Row.

[2] Plenty, abundance; a cant word.

A variant of the chorus gives "The *Romani-chels*" instead of "Romni-chelâ." A few modes of expression in this song are peculiar to the family of Sampson Robinson. They invariably use "*lesti*" for *tutti* (thou) and "*lesti's*" or "*yov's*" for *tutti's*, properly *tīro* (thy), as in the fifth verse. And the use of the affirmative "*aawali*" in the formation of the future tense, more especially when emphasis is required, is an idiom which I have not met with in other tents.

Lias Robinson is an interesting character. A quiet, self-contained man, enlivening, yet independent of society; happiest, perhaps, when prowling by himself in some "dear little wesh." He is possessed of a pleasing degree of modesty for one of Gypsy race, and it is only casually that one becomes familiar with his many accomplishments. "He's a wonderful cur'ous chap is Lias," said a Gypsy of my acquaintance on one occasion. "You wouldn't believe now, *rai*, some of the strange things as he does. He can't read a word, and yet he can write a letter as good as what you can." "How does he manage that?" "Well, I'll tell you, *rai*. Whenever he gets a letter sent him he gets some one as can read to read it over to him, and he keeps all the letters he ever gets, and he's got such a wonderful good memory he remembers all the bits of words in every letter he's got; so when he wants to write a letter he just goes up in his wagon by himself, and he picks out a bit here and a bit there till he's got all he wants, and then he copies them all down. And if there's any word as he doesn't know, he just goes down to Tommy's place, and says, innocent like, 'Tommy, suppose now you was writing a letter, how would you make such and such a word?' and of course Tommy hows him, 'cause he's so proud of his writing, and then he watches 'ommy make the word, and when once he's seen it he never orgets it.'"

Something of the same curious ingenuity in stringing words ogether which characterises Lias's correspondence may be traced in he following rhyme, presumably his own, which I took down from is recitation some years ago:—

"*Mandi's churri purri dai*
*Jaw'*d *adré kongri* to *shŭn* the *rashai;*
*The gâjos sor sal'*d as *yoi besh'*d *talé;*
*Yoi dik'*d *dré* the *lil*, but *yoi keker del apré;*
The *rashai roker'*d *pencha dukkerin'—pen'*d *duva sas* a *laj*,
But *keker yov jin'*d *mandi duker'*d *yov's chai,*
*Puker'*d *yov'*d *romer* a *barvālo rai.*"

Translation.

My poor old mother
Went into church to hear the parson;

The gentiles all smiled (lit. laughed) as she sat down,
She looked in the book, but she could not read;
The parson talked of fortune-telling—said that was a shame;
But he didn't know I had told his daughter's fortune,
Told her she'd marry a rich gentleman.

Here "*keker*" in line 4 has the force of *n'astis* (cannot), and "*pencha*" (like) in line 5 is used for *trustal* (about). With regard to what they call "little words," Gypsies are as resolute as Humpty-Dumpty in their determination to make words "mean just what they choose them to mean—neither more nor less."

Lias rarely improvises. Once, however, he broke a short silence by saying, "*Rai*, here's a verse for you. It's about you, *rai*":—

"The *Romano rai* he *wels akai*
To *dik* the *Romani-chels*,
To *shūn* the *lavs so lenghi pens*
And *chiv* 'em *adré* his *lils*."

Translation.

The Gypsy gentleman he comes here
To see the Gypsies,
To hear the words they say,
And put them in his books.

It is at least gratifying to find that, in frequenting my Gypsy friends' society, I am not credited with any baser motive than philological interest. On the whole, I felt rather flattered. Had I appeared to them in the guise of a professional philanthropist, the last two lines would doubtless have run thus:—

"To *kér hokipens trustal* the *Romni-chels*,
And *chiv* 'em *adré* his '*Bills*.'"

Another example of Gypsy improvisation related to me by Johnny Gray, the "good old company mush," I give in his own words. It is a capital instance of the tact which so often serves Gypsies in good stead:—

"*Yek divus, bor*, I was at Bury *wagăros*, and I was just a *jal*in' to *kin* a *grai adoi*—a *rinkeni bitti grai tai duva sas*—when I *dik*'d my *koko* prambalating past with his *wastas palál* his *dumo*. And he never *del*'d me so much as a *yokeripen, bor*, but kep a *dik*in' down on de ground, and *ghiv*in' a bit of a *ghili* to his *kokero*. And *so* do you *pen* it was, *bor*?

(Singing) '*Mâ kin duva grai*
Delamengro—*lesti*'ll *mor tūt*:
Gorjos bin *del*in' him
Drab sor de *divus*.'

You *dik*, he dusn't *pen chichi, bor*, for he was *jin*'d by *sor* de *ryas* and *ghivengro ghēros adoi*."

Translation.

"One day, mate, I was at Bury fair, and I was just a-going to buy a horse there—a pretty little horse it was too—when I saw my uncle 'prambalating' past with his hands behind his back. And he never gave me so much as a glance, mate, but kept a-looking down on the ground, and singing a bit of a song to himself. And what do you think it was, mate?

(Singing) 'Don't buy that horse
He's a kicker—he'll kill you;
The Gentiles have been giving him
Medicine all the day.'

You see, he daren't say anything, mate, for he was known by all the gentlemen and farming-people there."

The flesh-pots of Egypt furnish the inspiration of the two following songs. The first of these I picked up from Poley Herne, a bright intelligent Gypsy, who had passed much of his life among the "old roots" of America. Surprised at my ignorance of this song he exclaimed: "Why, that's an *old, old* little Gypsy song, *mi rai.* You won't find almost nothing that's older than that for real Gypsy":—

"*Balowas* and *porno,*
Mulomas and *bâlo;*
Kek tu lel les adré the *râti*
Lel les sig adré the *sâlo.*"

Translation.

Bacon and flour,
Carrion and pig;
If you don't get it at night,
Get it early in the morning.

The other, which I heard from a Gypsy whom I met on the high-road between Knotty Ash and Prescot, runs thus:—

"*Bálesto nokyas* and *bokochesto peryas*
Kushto hoben to *chiv apré* the *chŏryas.*"

Translation.

Pig's cheek and tripe,
Good food to put on the plates.

Whether the following song was the composition of the Gypsy woman from whom I heard it, I am unable to determine. Florence —— (I suspect, Lovell) was a *kĕréngeri,* but generally slept at night in the wagon, which stood a little distance from her door, on the waste lands near Smithdown Lane, Liverpool. She lived a solitary life, and, as she was a savage and half-insane character, interviewing her was by no means an agreeable task. She was extremely violent, and subject to various delusions. She took me for a swell-mobsman, an idea which raised me considerably in her estimation, although upon one occasion, when I had excited her anger, she threatened to reveal

my true mode of livelihood to the police. The following song, fragments of which she would often scream when intoxicated, or in one of her mad moods, was sung, like the "Death Song" described by Mr. Leland, to "no tune in pertick'ler."

"My *mush* is *jal*'d and the *beng* may *lel* him,
 When *mandi*'s *chiv*'d *talé* under the *chik*,
He's *nash*'*dedo* with a *vasavi grasni*
 And *muk*'d his *chavis* to *mēr* of *bok*.

I'll *mong* on the *drom* for my *dīri chavis*,
 And *puker lenghi* a *vasavo lav*,
'*Tutti*'s *dad* was a *hochedo jukel*,
 To *kēr* a *lubni* of *tutti's dai*.'"

Translation.

My man (husband) has gone, and the devil may take him,
 When I am put under the ground,
He's run away with an evil jade
 And left his children to die of hunger.

I'll beg on the road for my dear children,
 And tell them a cruel tale,
"Your father was a cursed dog
 To make a harlot of thy mother."

The circumstances described in this song (if indeed Gypsy at all) must have been very exceptional, as in nearly every case it is the woman who is the chief bread-winner of the Gypsy home. In the third line we find an unusual form of past participle, *nash*'*dedo*, where the word is inflected after both English and Romani fashion. The last line probably only means, "To treat your mother as if she had been," etc.

I heard the following fragment from an Accrington Gypsy named Boss. It was sung to a tune of no special merit, rather suggestive of a negro minstrel ditty :—

"When I first *chiv*'d my *pīro dré* de *bōri gav*,
 I *dik*'d a *ghēro jalin*' *talé* de *drom*,
And I *puch*'d *kova ghēro sas* a *poshēro drē* his *pūtsi*?
 Kek—De *beng te poger lesti zī*!
 Kek—De *beng te poger lesti zī*!"

Translation.

When I first set foot in London,
 I saw a man going down the road,
And I asked this man, Had he a halfpenny in his pocket?
 No—The devil break his heart!
 No—The devil break his heart!

Gypsy song, as I have remarked, does not deal much in sentiment, but there is certainly a trace of that quality in the following pathetic

little verse. Possibly this circumstance in itself lays it open to some slight suspicion. "*Trashóva Romané Raiâ ta lenghi foshkené ghilĕ*" is the Gypsy rendering of "*Timeo Danaos.*" This song was taken down from a Gypsy named Adolphus Smith, who recited it for me with considerable feeling.

"*Del mandi* a *chūma* my *rinkeni chai;*
Mandi jins I'll be *bitcher*'d *avrí;*
Tutti's rinkeni mūi mandi'll *keker dik apopli,*
And I *jin duva*'ll *poger* me to [1] [*sic*] *zi.*"

Translation.

Give me a kiss, my beautiful girl:
I know I'll be sentenced to transportation;
Your pretty face I'll never see again,
And I know that will break my heart.

The Gypsy delights in dramatic delivery of his words. It is not an unusual thing for him to suddenly break into a kind of metrical recitative, especially if he thinks he has an appreciative audience. For instance, Kenza Boswell is suffering from lumbago. I inquire how he is. "Very *wafedo, rai,* very *wafedo*";—a pause, then the following, rolled out with great solemnity and deliberation:—

"The *beng del*'d *mandi 'drē* the *dumo:*
Kek mandi tacho dik'd him *kĕr les;*
But *mandi jin*'d his *bongo pīro*
So del'd *akóva dūka* to *mandi.*"

Translation.

The devil kicked me in the back:
It's true, I didn't see him do it;
But still I felt his hoof, alack!
And sorely aching still must rue it.

Subjoined are a few further specimens of these modern Romani compositions. Though quite rhymeless and frequently unmetrical they are by no means devoid of form, and show a certain undeveloped capacity for lyrical expression.

This I heard from Brucey Boswell:—

"*Yek gurishi* [2] *sas mandi,*
I *del*'d it to a *rakli*
To *dik* if *lati*'s *bitto wudrus*
Would *loder dūi mendi.*"

Translation.

I had one shilling;
I gave it to a girl
To see if her small home
Could provide me with a night's lodging.

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1 ? *Miro.*

2 *Gurishi,* properly groat, is here as often used for *tringurishi*—shilling.

And this from one of the Lees:—

"My *dai's cherikl* never *puker*'d a *hukipen*.
My *dai's cherikl rokers pencha rashai;*
It *pend koliko divus mandi*'d *mēr adré stariben*,—
Mandi'll *jal kēri*, and *tarder* its *men*.

If I *tasser lesti*, my *dad* will *kūr mandi;*
If my *dad kūrs mandi, mandi*'ll *mōr* my *dad*,
If I *mōr* my *dad*, I'll be *lino* to *stariben*
(And then the *rokerin' cherikl's lav* will *wel tācho*)." [1]

Translation.

My mother's bird never told a lie.
My mother's bird talks like a parson,
It said yesterday I'd die in prison,—.
I'll go home and wring its neck.

If I choke it my father will beat me;
If my father beats me I'll kill my father;
If I kill my father I'll be taken to prison,
And then the parrot's words will come true.

A common Gypsy allusion, the *grasni* or *mailla romadi*, originating, doubtless (like the story of Andersen's Stork-wife), in the strong affection of Gypsies for these animals, is found in the following lines, the least exceptionable of one or two similar variants of the same idea:—

"*Keker mandi koms kek juvel;*
Mandi'll *romer* a *tarni mailla;*
If *yoi kērs wafedo* to *mandi*,
I'll *bikin lati* for a *balanser*."

Translation.

None of womenkind I'll wed;
Some she-ass I'll love instead;
If unkind to me she's found,
Then I'll sell her for a pound.

Another remarkable Gypsy song was that sung by poor Sinfi Boswell when, crossed in love, her mind became hopelessly unhinged. I have no copy of it, but its subject, like that of Ophelia's in like unhappy case, was her lost lover.

The three following rhymes are old. The first of these Tom Lee once told me used to be sung upon certain occasions by Gypsy children when he was a lad:—

"*Jukelésto pōri*
Kel an de *pōri*."

Another comes from Isaac Herne:—

"*Ach, mi kâri! ach mi kâri!*
Kanna sig men lach minjâri." [2]

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[1] Partly conjectural; illegible in my notes. [2] Possibly a diminutive.

And this interesting proverb from old Manful:—

	Translation.
"*Kâlo kâlo Komlo,*	Black Lovell,
Gozwerikno Macho,	Cunning Herne,
Bokhy Petaléngro	Lucky Smith,
Trin Romnichélâ	Three Gypsies
Kür the *purro beng, bâ.*"	That beat Old Nick.

Meaning, I take it, that these three families (or individuals?) excel the Father of the Romni-chels himself as regards their respective blackness, cunning, and luck. The phrase "Kaulo Camlo" occurs in Borrow, and the appropriateness of the second epithet will not, I think, be disputed by any one who knows the Hernes; but why the luck of the Smiths (or of some particular Smith) is cited, I am at a loss to say. Perhaps some reader of this Journal may be able to enlighten me.

Speaking of the Hernes, they are, without doubt, the deepest (I do not here restrict this word to language only) Gypsies whom I have yet encountered. "The true Gypsy," says Liebich, "is the type of all others,"[1] and these Hernes are among the Gypsies who combine all the characteristics of their race in a remarkable degree. They have a profound *Stammkultur,* a Gypsy culture of their own, which is unaffected by gentile modes of thought. Manful is now no more, but Isaac Herne is still a mine of wealth to be worked by the judicious Romano Rai. *Par excellence* a Romani mystic, as Wester is a Romani pedant, he is as proud of his inscrutability as Wester is of his "dictionary talk," and he must be gently played with if he is to be drawn out of his deep reserve.

During my acquaintance with him I was fortunate enough to extract from him some curious information with regard to the authenticity of some of Borrow's songs, which I hope on some future occasion to further verify and extend.

Independently of the Hernes, who are, of course, the best authority on Borrow's Gypsy,[2] I have met with fragments of Borrow's songs from two other Gypsies, viz. portion of the "*Bâlo* Song" given in the *Romany Rye,* from one of the Smiths, and the following lines, which occur in *The Bible of Spain* from another Gypsy of the same name,

[1] "Ein echter, wahrer Zigeuner ist der Typus aller andern."—*Die Zigeuner,* s. 113.

[2] Mr. Borrow (as Messrs. Bath Smart and Crofton have stated in their *Dialect of the English Gypsies,* p. 254) learned his deep *Romines* from "Old Crowy" Herne, Isaac's mother. There is ample testimony to the fact, but were this entirely wanting, a comparison of the language as recorded by Borrow (having regard to his types or sentence, preference for certain inflections, and use of particular forms of words) with that as now spoken by the Hernes, would point unmistakably to the same conclusion.

but different family. The latter may, however, have been merely learned from Mr. Borrow himself.

"Koshko grai, Romano grai,
Muk man kister tuti kenâ."

Translation.

Good horse, Gypsy horse,
Let me ride thee now.

In conclusion, I can only hope that the present gleanings, however meagre in themselves, may form the nucleus of a larger and more representative collection of English Gypsy songs. I have now but little leisure for *Romani* pursuits, yet even travelling through my old note-books in the interests of the present article reawakens in my mind some of the early enthusiasm with which (after a long and doubtful chase) I would hail the thin smoke of a Gypsy wagon curling among the trees in some country lane, or the delight which I experienced when "drawing out" some venerable Gypsy, who was himself a living storehouse of Gypsy Lore.

JOHN SAMPSON.

V.—MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF THE GYPSIES, COLLECTED BY M. J. KOUNAVINE.

[NOTE.—This treatise by Dr. Elysseeff originally appeared in the Reports of the Russian Geographical Society (*Izvestia Imp. Ross. Geograf. Obshtchestva*), vol. xvii., 1882. We are now enabled, through the valuable assistance of Professor Kopernicki, to present it to our readers in an English form.—ED.]

SOME years ago, in one of my excursions to the west of the province of Pskov, happening to meet there with several camps of wandering Gypsies, in the immediate neighbourhood of Porkhov, I succeeded in learning a good deal about the life of the Russian Gypsies, after having passed about six weeks in their camp. I had then occasion to note a certain number of words and phrases which were unintelligible to the Gypsies themselves, although they employed them in conversation, even while conversing in Russian. These strange words attracting my special attention, I tried to get them explained to me by these Gypsies themselves, as well as by all the others that I afterwards encountered between Northern Finland and Moscow. But I failed completely, having been unable to obtain any explanation, although all these words and phrases were among the commonest and the most widely spread. Nor have I been able to find them in the celebrated Gypsy vocabulary of Fr. Miklosich, nor in modern Sanskrit and Hindu dictionaries. I was all the more

interested in this because these terms were connected with certain traditions and tales, in the collection of which I specially busied myself, and because the same expressions have also been employed by Gypsy fortune-tellers, when telling fortunes by palmistry or by the cards. The mystery which enwrapped these words, their unintelligibility, and the way in which they were employed, all forced me to the conclusion that they were archaic fragments of the ancient Gypsy poetry, the meaning and signification of which were lost, in proportion as the primitive traditions of the Gypsy race became more and more effaced. Without a profound knowledge of all the Gypsy dialects it was impossible for me to verify this belief.

Two years ago my conjectures received confirmation when, having met in with M. Kounavine, I obtained from him his immense store of materials, consisting of 123 tales, 80 traditions and legends, 62 songs, and 120 smaller products of Gypsy poetry.

Thanks to the great courtesy of the respected collector, who has placed at my disposition all his materials, already translated roughly into Russian, I applied myself to the study of these, and, following the advice of M. Kounavine, I confined myself to the collection of such data as would furnish materials for the reconstruction of the primitive religious beliefs of the Gypsies, as well as of their cosmic ideas.

In examining this immense quantity of productions of the language and the poetry of the Gypsies, it was impossible for me not to feel convinced of the great justice of the opinion long recognised by Science that the Gypsies drew their origin from Hindustan,—an opinion further stated by Czacki, who has shown, Sanskrit dictionary in hand, the kinship of the ancient Sanskrit with the modern Hindu languages, and with the various Gypsy dialects.[1]

In general, Kounavine's materials have confirmed, in my opinion, the hypothesis of the emigration of the Gypsies from their Aryan fatherland, a hypothesis based upon the works of Marsden, Ugelmann [? Grellmann], Pott, and Fr. Miklosich.

A profound study of the materials in my possession has demonstrated that this hypothesis is not entirely confirmed in all its details; and, more than that, the opinion of M. Kounavine himself is opposed to it in some respects.

[1] Thadeus Czacki, a learned and celebrated Polish historian of the beginning of this century, and author of an excellent memoir on the Gypsies. He based his statements, however, upon the unpublished linguistic studies of Professor Krause of Königsberg; and there are good grounds for questioning the accuracy of the above assumption that Czacki himself was familiar with Sanskrit or even with Romani.—T. K.

I shall cite, at the close of this account, a *résumé* of the principal results obtained by me in studying Kounavine's materials, if only from the point of view of comparative mythology. These results agree with the theory of M. Kounavine, upon which theory it is not for me to enlarge, for to do this would be to act indiscreetly towards the venerable collector.

But in the first place, something must here be said regarding himself, and the course by which he has attained the collection of his materials, the like of which does not exist in all the literature of Western Europe. Thereafter, we shall pass to the description of these materials themselves.

By profession a doctor, but by inclination an indefatigable worker in the domain of philological science, Michael Ivanovitch Kounavine was born in the year 1820. After the elementary preparation of home he made his first studies in a *gymnase* of the Government (or Province), and after completing these he matriculated at the University of Moscow, as I understand. Having passed as doctor, M. Kounavine went abroad, where he speedily engaged himself in a new occupation, which he has followed all his life until now, having devoted his whole time to the study of the Gypsies—the most singular people of the ancient world.

Having manifested, even in his youth, a lively interest in history and ethnography, M. Kounavine when abroad yielded to his instincts of curiosity, and a chance occurred of his visiting several Gypsy colonies in Germany and Austria.

In his conversations with the most notable representatives of the intelligent class of the Gypsies, he was seized with the idea that in the national recollections of this people there were probably preserved rich treasures of historic and ethnographical facts; and this under the form of productions of their creative faculty, where they sometimes manifested themselves in a great number of strange metaphors, sometimes in certain inexplicable rites, the meaning and the signification of which were already lost.

From that time onward this idea unceasingly haunted the young doctor, and it decided him to devote himself wholly to the study of the Gypsy race. If one considers that this took place between 1840 and 1849, that at that epoch the lexicographical resources for the study of the Gypsy language (such as we possess to-day in Miklosich's work) had as yet no existence, it will be easy to conceive all M. Kounavine's labour and patience, of which he gave proof by successfully surmounting all the difficulties of his self-imposed task. M.

Kounavine entered on his new career by establishing himself in one of the Gypsy colonies of Southern Germany as a medical man. In the course of five years he succeeded in learning the language of this people to such a degree that he not only spoke it fluently, but he was even capable of analysing the vocabulary and the etymologies of that language. It was here that in comparing the *roots of the Gypsy dialects* with those of the ancient Sanskrit, which he studied side by side with them, M. Kounavine observed that the Gypsy tongues contain a mass of words whose origin was not Aryan, but Aramaic, Semitic, and even Mongol. This discovery once made, many other facts became clear to the young explorer. Having found pure Zendic roots even in the European Gypsy dialects, M. Kounavine turned his special attention to them; and, with the aim of explaining this influence, he applied himself to the study of the Oriental Gypsies, who have preserved the most numerous traces of this influence.

He first visited the Gypsy camps in Germany, in Austria, in Southern France, in Italy, in England, and in Spain. After having devoted more than eight years to this, M. Kounavine set himself to study the Gypsies of Turkey. Following the geographical distribution of the Gypsy camps, he first studied the Gypsies of the Balkan, then those of Northern Africa, and those of Asia Minor, and finally he penetrated into Central Asia. In this way M. Kounavine traversed Armenia, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Iran, and passed two years in studying the nomadic tribes of Hindustan and the Deccan.

Returning to Europe after twelve years of travel among the Gypsy camps of Asia, M. Kounavine, before putting in order the materials which he had just gathered, turned to the study of the Gypsies of Russia, to which he devoted about ten years.

In the Caucasus he followed the transition of the European Gypsies into those of Kurdistan, and all along the Ural Mountains into the Gypsies of Central Asia and Turan. On this occasion M. Kounavine revisited India and the chains of the ranges of Tian-Shan and the Himalayas.

Altogether he has devoted about thirty-five years to the realisation of his great idea, including therein the time occupied by his second journey to Hindustan.

In 1876 M. Kounavine was forced to put an end to his peregrinations among the Gypsy camps of Europe, Asia, and Africa; for his health was much injured by this nomadic life. After so much toil he was forced to seek rest, and to pursue a course of treatment at the mineral waters of Staraja Roussa, where, three years ago, I

had an opportunity of making the acquaintance of this venerable worker.

Having chiefly fixed his attention on the words of different origin interspersed in the various Gypsy dialects, M. Kounavine made his journeys after a premeditated plan, and based upon his *a priori* inductions. These inductions for the most part received confirmation, in proportion as the materials collected increased in number; so that the esteemed student had the great satisfaction of seeing his *a priori* conjectures confirm themselves more and more as his knowledge of the facts became increasingly great. The more he sojourned among the Gypsy camps of Europe and Asia, the more clear seemed to him the connection of the Gypsy race with the peoples of Aryan and non-Aryan stock, and after having elucidated this connection he based thereon his theory upon the origin of the Gypsies and their language.

In proportion as the indefatigable traveller approached the East, the relics of the national products of the creative genius of the Gypsy people became more and more abundant, and the national character of the Gypsies seemed to him purer, more original, and more tenacious of its primitive nature.

It was in the Gypsy camps of the East and of Asia Minor that M. Kounavine heard for the first time those ancient traditions and those songs of ritual which possessed very manifest traits of the primitive mythology—traits of which he had previously only very vague ideas.

With regard to the amount of material collected by this indefatigable labourer during thirty-five years of his wandering life, passed in the Gypsy camps of Europe and Asia, it would not be without interest to examine the map arranged according to his indications. On this plan the Gypsy camps are indicated by suitable signs, indicating their classification according to Kounavine as well as the nature and quantity of the materials there collected by him. How much labour it had cost Kounavine to gather together such a mass of materials as we have seen in his possession, one can only divine when one realises all the conditions under which this collection, almost unexampled in the annals of science, was accomplished by a single man. He had to gather all these treasures together, drop by drop, grain by grain, under the most varied conditions, among half-wild nomads, mistrustful in the extreme, in the immense tracts of Europe, half of Asia, and part of Africa.

It was with unheard-of difficulty, in suiting himself to the shy character of the Gypsies and the mistrust of their chiefs, often in

seeking to gain them with the aid of money and to excite the loquacity of their magicians (*djecmas*); it was after having thoroughly learned not only all the Gypsy dialects, but the manners and customs of the different camps, and after having gained the aid of the Gypsy neophytes, that he arrived at some knowledge of their mysterious ceremonies and their tradition,—the relics of their high antiquity.

Such are the materials collected by M. Kounavine in the course of thirty-five years of his wandering life; they are as varied in their form and matter as the race that has furnished them. An immense quantity of tales, traditions, legends, songs of religion and of ritual, magic formulas, sentences and metaphors, collected in all the Gypsy dialects, make up the total of these materials. By means of scientific criticism, and the light of contemporary science, many interesting statements might be extracted therefrom for history, for ethnography, and for the study of language, and this with all the greater certainty since all these materials, if I mistake not, are noted down in their respective language and dialect.

It is only five years[1] since M. Kounavine, having completed his travels, set himself, amid the tranquillity of the country, to elaborate this mass of raw material, accumulated during the whole, almost, of his life. In spite of ill-health, he has some years ago achieved the translation of all these materials into Russian, and since that time he has occupied himself with the philological side of the question, having proposed to me that I should avail myself of his stores, to the best of my knowledge and ability.

Owing to the unique originality of M. Kounavine's materials, and their importance to ethnography, it is of course very desirable that they should be made known to the scientific world, which could not be done until now. M. Kounavine's too limited resources have prevented him from publishing these fruits of his thirty-five years' labour, colossal as these are in volume and matter, and only of importance, in their crude state, to a small number of specialists. It is for this reason that our literature has not been enriched by this treasure, which has not an equal in all the learning of Western Europe.

Simultaneously with the translation and elaborating of his materials, M. Kounavine has undertaken an original work "On the Language and the Dialects of the Gypsies of Europe and Asia,"—a work which has already nearly reached completion, in spite of the weakened state of the eyesight of the venerable author. What

[1] Dr. Elysseeff wrote these words in 1881.

will be the value of this work? We do not know; but, after what we have seen, it may be said that this is a master-work. For, in addition to the principal subject "concerning the Gypsy language and dialects," it treats of one of the most serious questions of comparative philology, namely, the influence of one language upon others, and the relationship between the primitive Aryan tongues and their descendants in the second and third degree.

As we cannot expect the early publication of M. Kounavine's materials, we shall endeavour to give some information regarding them to specialists, and to indicate what might be extracted from them by means of a logically conducted study. These materials generally, from their form and their signification, may be divided into several sections, of which the one which deservedly comes first is that of the *Tales*.

TALES.

These constitute the greatest part of Kounavine's materials, and most of them display the common Aryan ideas, by which these tales are allied in many details to the kindred productions of the other peoples of the great Indo-European family.

The essence of these tales consists of the usual Aryan ideas of light and darkness, mingled with metaphors more or less easily understood, in which the poetic style of the Gypsies reveals itself; concrete ideas of imaginary divinities in anthropo- or zoo-morphic forms, in which it is impossible not to recognise their real signification; and, lastly, the common Aryan eschatological ideas, that is to say, the ideas relating to the end of all things visible.

It is from these tales that one may draw much material for the reconstruction of the primitive mythology of this people, and their poetical ideas of the universe. They may be classified as follows:—

(*a.*) Ancient legends (having a purely mythological basis).
(*b.*) Tales of more modern date (which are in substance partly mythological, partly hyperbolical); and
(*c.*) Wholly modern tales (without any mythological basis).

(*a.*) In the ancient legends the mythological elements assert themselves the most strongly, and the characteristic features of the Hindu mythology are there so evident that even the names to be met with in these tales recall the analogous divinities of the Hindu theogony. These are:—*Baramy, Jandra, Laki, Matta, Anromori*, and others, in whose names one cannot fail to recognise the Hindu *Brama, Indra, Lakshmi, Mâta* (*Prithik*, earth-mother), as well as the Zendic name of *Ariman*. And even the secondary names of the primitive mythology

of the Gypsies remind us of the analogous names of the divinities of the religion of the Hindus and of Zoroaster. The Gypsy names of *davanni* (good spirits) and *mori* (evil spirits) are likewise etymologically akin to the Sanskrit *dêva* (*daêva* of the Zend-Avesta), and to the common Aryan root *mar*, *mor*, which denotes every being that is wicked and hostile to man. It is, however, to be remarked that the signification (? the *rôle*) of Gypsy *davanni* is borrowed from the Zendic mythology, but is not Hindu. We shall presently quote some fragments of Gypsy tales which show us the character of their divinities.

(*b.*) In the tales of more recent date the proper names wherein one can discern anthropomorphic divinities of mythology disappear and give place to the ordinary proper names of Gypsies; and the heroes of those tales figure in the ordinary form of the heroes of our popular stories. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to perceive in the fabulous representations of those heroes some vestiges of a mythological groundwork, formerly more salient, but now partly effaced by time.

(*c.*) In the tales of quite recent origin, it is difficult to perceive the mythological elements, for they are replaced by hyperbolical images and by metaphors, through which their meaning is clearly seen. These tales are now very slightly fabulous; they are ordinary men and animals who chiefly figure in them; nevertheless, knowing the common Aryan conceptions, one can see disclosed in the general groundwork and manner of these tales the poetic ideas of the Gypsies regarding the universe.

M. Kounavine came in contact with the tales of the first order in the Gypsy camps of Central Asia, in Iran, and in certain parts of Eastern Russia; with those of the second class among many of the Gypsies of Russia and the Balkan; while the most modern of all the tales were found among all the Gypsies in general.

As specimens of the tales coming within the two first divisions, we shall cite some fragments of those which are the most important from the point of view of comparative mythology.

(*a.*) "*Obertsshi* (the Gypsy Hercules—hero of many legends) while travelling through the world, chanced to arrive at the dwelling of the sun. The sun was absent, and he was received by his mother, whose acquaintance he seems to have long possessed, for he addresses himself directly to her: 'Where is thy radiant son, where are thy brilliant grandchildren, and where are the silver steeds of thy son?' 'My son,' she replied, 'has gone a long time ago to drive

through the heavens in his golden car; my glittering grandsons have set out on their silver horses to go and see their sisters.' Obertsshi further questioned the mother of the sun regarding many other matters, but one thing he failed to learn from her, namely, where it was that the sun hid himself during the night, for this the old woman would not tell him. Thereupon Obertsshi resolved to discover it for himself, and he requested that he might be allowed to pass the night in the house of the sun. This the mistress granted him, and he hid himself in a corner, where, pretending to sleep, he awaited the return of the sun. Jandra came back very late in his golden car; immediately he took off his shining and radiant garments, washed himself with pure water, dressed himself in clothes dark as the night, and disappeared."

Jandra, the sun-god, the thunder-bearer of the Aryan peoples, the Hindu Indra,[1] figures in this tale as son of the mother of the sun, having brothers and sisters, possessing horses of silver: all these are metaphors of the sun in their various manifestations, which have their analogues in the conceptions of other Aryan peoples. The disguise of the divine wielder of the thunder, his washing himself with pure water which changes him into a negative sun, the sun of night and of winter—the Farré of the Gypsies, the Hindu Varuna—have a very deep significance from the point of view of comparative mythology.

(*b.*) *Tale of the Wanderings of Jandra.*—"Once upon a time the celestial Jandra sojourned on the earth, and went through fields and forests, and meadows and towns, in order that he might observe mankind, whom he loved so much, and that he might see what they did. The mighty Jandra passed through many lands, and towns, and peoples, but he saw little to console him on his way. He was like to be himself killed by wicked men, being regarded as a human outcast. . . . Born a pilgrim, Jandra remained a pilgrim during all his earthly life; he had not even where to lay his head, he had no faithful horse; often did he suffer hunger and weariness, and all that he might do good to men, and instruct them in the ways of virtue."

We find in this tale the anthropomorphisation of the god-bearer of the thunder, his incarnation as man, analogous to the *avatâras* of the god Vishnu. The chief interest of this Gypsy conception of the anthropomorphic transformation of the proto-divinity consists in the

[1] *Jandra*, in my opinion, is derived from the Gypsy root *jan*, "to shine," analogously to the Hindu word *Indra*, derived from the Sanskrit root *indh*, "to gleam," with which Jandra has a striking resemblance.

fact that the Gypsy Jandra, metamorphosed into a man, appeared as a veritable Gypsy—as an outcast from men, and a wanderer upon the earth.

(*c.*) *Tale of a great Sage.*—"In the beginning of all things, the great Baramy (the chief proto-divinity of the Gypsies) commanded his daughter Matta to marry the radiant Lakipadi (very probably analogous to the Hindu *Locapâlas*—the guardian of the universe) Jandra, in order that from this marriage might issue all animals and all plants. Matta consented thereto, and the following sun (that is to say, day) all kinds of terrestrial herbs, fruits, and trees were born from their marriage. Matta ate one of the fruits produced by her, and a swift-footed horse was born therefrom, who went round all the earth. The wicked Pramori coveted this horse, and longed to possess it. He pursued it for a long time, but Baramy himself watched over this animal—the fruit of his daughter. Pramori, irritated against Baramy, began to do injury to him in all ways, to himself, and to his creatures. Presently he inundated the whole earth, and overwhelmed all herbs, so that none remained as pasture for the horse, and then he burned everything that Baramy had produced. Finally, with the aid of Anromori (in this instance appearing as the superior of Pramori) he put the horse to death. Baramy, irritated at the death of his beloved creature, created from his breath a *davanni* (or good spirit), and from this last a *romnidavanni* (man-spirit), which he invested with the blood and the bones of what had been the horse. From the viscera of this horse Baramy created the animals, and from its head he made a new horse, which he gave to *romni* (man) to serve him for ever."

In this admirable tale all the Gypsy cosmogony is expressed. The struggle between the principles of good and of evil, of Baramy with Pramori aided by Anromori, a struggle upon which the creation of the visible universe depended, is perfectly analogous to the struggle between Ormuzd and Ahriman in the religion of Zoroaster. There, as here, there is a proto-animal created first: a proto-bull with the Zends, a proto-horse with the Gypsies. The birth of this last, resulting from a fruit eaten by Matta, the wife of the divine bearer of the thunder, is but a primitive conception of the Hindu cosmogony, according to which the universe was a fruit of the divine couple: *pitâ Dyaus* (father—Heaven) and *mâta Prithivi*, (mother—Earth), a conception modified in the Zend root by another purely dualistic. The strife between these two principles of the universe, ending in the victory of good, presents itself in our tale in the manner perfectly

identical with the religion of Zoroaster, from which also the ulterior conceptions are borrowed—the creation of the proto-animal, man-spirit, and of the other animals,—which are even in the smallest details analogous to the Zendic conceptions of the *fèrouères*, which change themselves into men and animals,—after having clothed the material form in the shape of the flesh and blood of a proto-animal.

(*d.*) *The Tale of Alor.*—"A young man besought the radiant Laki that she would awaken and animate for him the love of a swallow-like maiden with black eyes, so that her virgin heart would be so inflamed with ardent passion that, crazy with love, she would forget her parents and her maiden modesty, and would abandon herself eternally to him. The young man's prayers were heard; it was not in vain that he supplicated the mother Laki. By means of the winds she inspired love into the girl's heart (in some Russian tales also, and in their magic formulas, the winds play an important part in inspiring love), and she came to him, having forgotten her virgin modesty, and they lived together in love and concord.

"But happiness did not continue long in this home. The wicked Anromori was jealous of the happy life of Alor and Gati. . . . The wicked *Mori* installed himself in their home, and there was no longer harmony between them; the young man's words ceased to be gentle; the black eyes of the girl no longer emitted their fire as formerly; their kisses were not as voluptuous as before, nor their embraces as warm. . . . Anromori had dried up their hearts, and the wicked *moris* destroyed the love and the joys of Alor. . . ."

In this tale there is admirably represented the influence of the good and evil divinities upon family happiness. The good goddess Laki has united two young lives by the ties of love, and the wicked Anromori has destroyed their happiness, having introduced between them his agent *Mori*.

Traditions and Historical Narratives.

The traditions and historical accounts of the Gypsies—which are preserved in the greatest quantity among those who have best preserved their primitive character, that is to say, among the Gypsies of the East, and (of European Gypsies) those of Turkey—are interesting from the point of view of history and of ethnography rather than from that of mythology.

In M. Kounavine's immense store one remarks upon this point considerable blanks; because, in spite of their great quantity, it is impossible to reconstruct from these materials a complete picture of

any one moment whatsoever of the historical life of the Gypsies. At the bottom of their traditions, as in those of other nations, some historic fact, retained in the popular memory, is always found.

A people whose history (however insignificant it may be) is in close contact with the general history of the whole ancient world, a people gifted with the rich imagination common to all the Aryan nations—and which has undergone so many trials as the Gypsies have done—ought to have completely preserved in its memory a great number of historical incidents which would serve as material for historical traditions. We are therefore astonished to find that Gypsy traditions are comparatively inadequate in number, in the immense collection of materials gathered by Kounavine. Nevertheless, in spite of this inadequateness, all these fragments of the ancient history of the Gypsies, all these admirably poetical pictures and personifications, having often a mythological basis, may enable us, with the aid of the necessary criticism, to extract therefrom many precious ideas concerning the history of the Gypsy race—a history so confused and enigmatical, not only for the Gypsies themselves, but also for science.

The data which may be extracted from the Gypsy traditions form an ample enough combination of ethnographic materials of this race touching its ancient manners, its usages, and its customary laws. Certain proper names to be met with in these traditions may serve to guide us in an historical study of them. And M. Kounavine himself says very judiciously in the preface to his work that, "from the proper names encountered in these tales, traditions, songs, and legends of the different Gypsy camps—in which, with a little attention and without any effort, one recognises corrupted geographical and historical names —it is easy to decipher certain historic moments of the past of the Gypsy people."

And, in fact, among the names of the heroes of these Gypsy traditions there are those which strongly impress themselves on the mind by their resemblance to the names of historic persons.

For example, there is *Obertsshi* (the Gypsy Hercules), in whom we are disposed to see the half-mythical prince of Transoxana (Bokhara), named *Abertsy*, who constructed Beykend, the capital of that country;[1] *Timor*, a terrible chief of the eastern races, is evidently *Timur*, the scourge of Eastern Asia; and so on.

Among the names also of towns cited in some Gypsy traditions—names noted by M. Kounavine with special precision—one meets

[1] This resemblance is all the more likely since in the Gypsy traditions also the name of Obertsshi is associated with that of the town *Bikin*.

with classic names of towns known to the Greek geographers, such as *Batalo, Pourini, Espadi, Rikoi, Bikin, Babili*, and others—names encountered among the Gypsies of Asia—in which, according to M. Kounavine, it is not difficult to recognise the ancient towns, *Pattala, Poura, Aspadana* (the Ispahan of to-day), *Rhagæ, Beikind*, and *Babylon*, cited by Arian and other historians and geographers. Nor do I believe that we shall be mistaken in finding in *Khutsi*, the name of a people wandering in bands along the river *Aksirti*, as also in *Shemoukheta*, the name of a town on the *Tsikhon*, the historic names of the nation of the *Houts* (the original of the Turks), who wandered along the ancient *Yaxartes*, and the celebrated town of *Djemoukèt* (now Samarkand), situated upon one of the affluents of the Syr-Daria, the ancient *Sikhon*.

As specimens of these Gypsy traditions we shall quote two, obtained from the Uralian Gypsies, and relating to two periods of their history.

(*a*.) "In that land where the sun rises from behind a dark mountain (a common Aryan conception) there is a large and admirable town, very rich in horses. Many centuries ago all the nations of the earth used to journey to this town, some on horseback, some on camels, some on foot; thither went the rich and the poor, the happy and the unfortunate, and all found there a refuge and a welcome. And there had come several of our bands. The sovereign of this town received them with favour, saw that their horses were cared for, and proposed to them that they should settle in his empire. Our fathers agreed to this, they pitched their tents upon the fertile meadows of Ayova (an unintelligible name). There they dwelt for a long time, contemplating with thankfulness the blue tent of the heavens; many children were born to them, and many young men and maidens grew up; they loved each other and begot yet more children in this happy country. But Destiny and the spirits of evil saw with sorrow the felicity of the Romni-folk.[1] Then they sent wicked Khoutsi horsemen into these happy places, who set fire to the tents of the happy people, and, after putting them to the sword, led away their women and children into slavery. However, a great number of them had escaped, and since that time they do not dare to dwell long in one place."

It was thus that an old Gypsy of the Ural explained to M. Kounavine the reason of the ever-wandering life of the Gypsy bands.

[1] The word *Romni* appears to have been long in use among Gypsies to designate themselves in particular, although it signifies *men* in general.

The historic name *Houts*, mentioned in this tradition, is noteworthy; all the more because it is only known to the Gypsies of Central Asia.

(*b.*) "Long, long ago, when our forefathers as yet knew not of swift horses, and when, like all other races, they dwelt in houses built of logs and stone, a great sorrow came to our people. For a great many years past they had already lived in sadness, but this sorrow made life still more insupportable to them. Treated as despised outcasts from mankind, our grandsires and forefathers dragged their existence in constant fear, trembling before every soldier or farmer, because he was at liberty to kill every son of our race. . . . New evil-doers, new enemies, arrived from the mountain heights; they glutted our meadows, fields, and orchards with our blood. . . . The wicked *mori* and wicked men rejoiced over our misfortunes; they believed that our fathers and our race were going to perish. But Laki decided otherwise: she sent swift horses to save her people from death. Thousands of horses came galloping from the mountain heights; and our forefathers seized them in order to flee from the enemy. The Romni-people fled upon these horses, as flies the stag before the pursuing wolf. It is thus that they flee even down to the present day, because they are always encompassed by enemies."

From whatever point of view one regards this tradition, it ought to be referred back to the most distant relics of antiquity, in spite of the fact that its form reminds one of modern tales. Those times when the ancestors of the Gypsies inhabited, "like all other races, houses built of logs or stones" could in no wise be referred to a modern epoch. The whole description of the situation of the Gypsies' ancestors, when they were treated "like despised outcasts from society," when everybody had the right to kill with impunity "a son of the race" of Gypsies, and when as yet the Gypsy did not even know the horse, the second self of every Gypsy, ought to be relegated to the first period of their history, the period of their emigration from the paternal soil. And the very fact there related, of the enemies who came down from the mountain heights, and who forced their ancestors to quit their own country, ought to be held as one of those impulses which have caused the migration from the Aryan fatherland of one of the peoples of the Hindu race, to which race the Gypsies ought to be held to belong. Many other conclusions might be drawn from this single tradition, but we content ourselves with the one which we have just stated.

A. Elysseeff.

(*To be continued.*)

VI.—THE LITHUANIAN GYPSIES.

AS the Gypsies are becoming scarce in the environs of Rossieny, where I reside, and being myself unable to be in those parts of the country of which I spoke in the *Journal* of July 1889, I have here collected what the inhabitants of Lithuania relate regarding the Gypsies.

Almost the whole commerce here is in the hands of the Jews, who, on this account, are considered by our people as deceitful and cunning. But the Lithuanians assert that the Gypsies surpass the Jews in deceit and cunning: and that the Gypsy outdoes the Jew. The following narratives show their character:—From Žėmaiten, in Rossieny, to Szydlowo the road leads for about ten versts along the river Dubissa, a tributary of the Memel. A Gypsy was walking along the Szydlowo road, in the neighbourhood of the estate of Kotowsezyzna, on the left bank of the river Dubissa, when he came up to a Jew mounted on a good horse. The Gypsy, who liked the appearance of the Jew's horse, began to flatter him—saying that, in these corrupt times, the righteous are only to be met with among the Jews and Gypsies! These flattering remarks pleased the Jew, and as the cunning Gypsy perceived this, and they were nearing the river Dubissa, which at that time had no ferry, but only a deep ford, he said to the Jew, in a supplicating voice: "My dear fellow, permit me to cross on your horse; I shall send it back, and you can then ride across." The Jew allowed the Gypsy to cross the river on his horse; but when the Gypsy had got to the other side, he called to the Jew: "Ah! my dear sir, as the righteous have disappeared in the whole world, let them also disappear among us"; saying which he jumped on the horse, leaving the Jew standing on the other side of the river, never to see his horse again. Therefore, both formerly and now, the Jews are very cautious in their dealings with the Gypsies.

There still exists a Lithuanian proverb: "Cigonai szalbierei, židai smirdelei" ("The Gypsies are impostors, the Jews are cheats").

Two versts from the river Dubissa, on the right bank, is a mountain which the Lithuanian people call "Bedancziu Kalnas," from the village Bedanczei; it is also named Cigonkalnis ("The Mountain of the Gypsies"). With regard to it I shall relate the following: A Gypsy was walking slowly beside a Jew, who was mounted on a horse. The Gypsy carried on a conversation very flattering to the Jew, and he therefore permitted him to walk beside him. The road was boggy, and the Gypsy carried in his hand a branch, which served him as a

protection from the dogs; holding it in the hand, he dragged it behind him in the mire. When the Gypsy spied a favourable moment he struck the Jew with the miry branch across the eyes, so that the latter lost consciousness, and fell from his horse, whereupon the Gypsy swung himself on to the horse, and rode quickly away, leaving the blinded Jew lying in the swamp.

The old Lithuanians relate that the Gypsies came to Lithuania with the Jews in their exodus from Egypt during the reign of Faraons (Pharaoh), that they are the most cunning and deceitful of all people, and that no one can cheat them. Their occupation consists mostly in buying and selling horses, and in cheating. When they wish to sell a riding-horse as a carriage-horse they make sores on the sides of it, as if it was caused by the harness. They are also very much given to thieving, particularly at fairs, and at the anniversaries of the dedication of churches, where they pick pockets. They entertain the people with songs, dancing, fortune-telling, music, and magic, etc. Their confederates profit by this, and steal from the onlookers. The women have long aprons filled with corn, by means of which they decoy fowls, and then hide them and various other things under the apron. They do not punish their children when they steal, but when they are unsuccessful in stealing.

The Gypsies predict to women, girls, and young men how long they shall live, what good luck they shall have, what wives or husbands they shall get, how many children they shall have, and whether they shall be rich or poor. They mostly tell fortunes by looking into the palms of the hands and into the eyes. They often tell people with wonderful correctness of events in their past lives, for it happens sometimes that the Gypsies get their information from the neighbours of those to whom they tell their fortunes.

The dress of the Gypsy, now gradually disappearing, is as follows:—A long black cloak, such as the Jews wear, having on both sides at the neck silver-plated buttons, the size of a pigeon's egg. On the head they wear a black felt hat, with turned-up brim, and a red cord under the chin. Round the neck they have a black neckerchief fastened behind. On a broad belt hanging on the right arm is a large leather pouch, and on the breast hangs a crucifix of brass, with the image of Christ, about eight inches in length. On the left arm they carry another belt, on which hangs on the right side a *kantshu*,[1] called by the Gypsies *makaras*.[2] When a Gypsy is angry he shows

[1] Whip.

[2] I must observe that I can only vouch for the primitive word; the end syllable is Lithuanian. The inhabitants of Lithuania call it by the same name. It is also a Lithuanian family name.

it to his enemy, saying: "Do you see this Makaras?" Their black trousers are bordered on both sides with red ribbon. When the Gypsy is unmarried, he wears a small round black cap, ornamented with flowers and ribbons, floating in the wind. The men have coal-black hair and beard; their faces are very dark. When asked "Why art thou black?" the answer is, "Oh, my dear sir, you are aware that even the corn thrives best in dark soil!" The women of the tribe are of the same complexion, and are dressed like the Jewesses. They are as dirty and tattered as the latter, but more talkative, and greater impostors. They wear in their ears large silver ear-rings, and have red kerchiefs on their heads, which are very becoming to them. When a young man wishes to marry, his parents give him a blessing (they frequently live together without the benediction of the Church). When a child is born they take it to the Roman Catholic Church to be baptized, and when about to die they call in the Catholic priest. A very offensive word in their language is *skridžala mora*, the meaning of which I am not aware of; the Gypsies are offended at this word, and ready to fight; when asked the meaning of it, they refuse to give it. The Gypsies in our part of the country are not very particular; it is related that once a band of them came into a village, and found a pig that had died a natural death, whereupon they went into a house and asked the loan of a caldron. Upon being asked what they wanted it for, their answer was "to cook the pig." When they were told that the pig had died, and being in consequence refused the caldron, the Gypsies, answered that the pig was all right—"*Mary*[1] had killed it." The Gypsies often profess any religion that is the most convenient for the moment. Once it happened in Eiragola, in the Province of Kowno at Zamaiten, that a Catholic Gypsy was caught stealing a horse, and when taken before the police and asked by the official what his religion was, he answered, "What religion would you wish? which do you profess?" "I am a Greek Catholic." "Then I am of the same confession," said the Gypsy. He wished to please the official, in hopes that he would let him go free.

How the Gypsies love their liberty the following will prove:—Some years ago a Gypsy went into the army (enlisted) as substitute for a Lithuanian, but a few days afterwards he said to the latter: "Lose no time in getting the receipt from the court certifying that I have become your substitute; the service is too tedious for me, I mean to desert."

MEČIUS DAVAINIS-SILVESTRAITIS.
[MIECZYSLAW DOWOJNO-SYLWESTROWICZ.]

[1] Meaning the Virgin Mary.

VII.—A VOCABULARY OF THE SLOVAK-GYPSY DIALECT.

By R. von Sowa.

(*Continued from Vol. I., p.* 367.)

K.

Kabńi, S., *khabńi*, M. W., adj. (Gr. *kabni*, *kamni*; Hng. *khamni*; Bhm. *kábńi*), pregnant.

Kachitsa, M. W., s. f. (Slov. *kačica*), duck.

Kadarde, *a.*, S., adv. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. wanting. The Morav. var. of Bhm. has *karde*, where?), whence? *Manushálomas tut kadarde avl'as?*—Whence should there be flesh of a man for thee?

Kafehausa, S., s. f. (Germ. *kafehaus*), coffee-house.

Kahńi, S., *kanhün*, *M., obl. pl. (Gr. *kahni*, *kaghni*; Hng. *kańhi*; Bhm. *kahńi*), hen; cf. s. *kálo*.

Kahńori, M. W., s. f. (dim. of the same), hen, chicken.

Kai, M. W., K., S., *ka*, M. W., S., adv. conj. (Gr. *ka*, only adv.; Hng. *ka*; Bhm. *kai*). 1. Where? int. rel.: *Kai tu salas, mri piráni?*—Where hast thou been, sweetheart? Kal.; *O kosharis kai hi oda bakre*—The sheepfold, where the sheep are. 2. Whither? int. rel.: *Kai jaha?*—Whither will you go? Beginning a tale, it is used instead of *varekai* (which see), "in a certain place," thus: *Kai has yekhe raske trin rákl'a*—In a certain place there was a gentleman with three daughters (cf. Hng. *kai sa kai náne*, Ml. i. 151, 158, etc., whilst the same tale begins in Bhm. *varekai ehas*, etc., Ml. ii. 4. 3. Instead of the relative "which" (cf. M., M. W. vii. 69): *Asi rovl'i, kai vázhinlas trin tsenti*—Such a stick, the weight of which was three quintals. 4. When: *Rat'aha, kai hurangozinel o kostelńikos*—In the evening, when the sacristan is ringing the bell. 5. That (consec.): *You les auka ńumind'as, kai mind'ar lestar o páńi gél'as*—He pressed it so, that immediately the water splashed out from it; *Sho* (read *so*) *tu keres, kai tu buti na keres?*—What art thou doing, that thou art not at thy work? Kal; *Kai te* S., *kai the*, M. W. (i.) That (consec.), *a.*: *Tu chiveha akada rovl'i úches and-o ńebo, kai buter te na téle perel*—Thou wilt throw this stick so high up to the sky, that it will not fall down. (ii.) That (final): *Mind'ar rozkazind'as ke range, kai te phuchen*—Immediately he gave orders to the nobles, that they may ask, *etc.*; *Kai yoi te hrabinel*—In order that she may rake—Kal.

Kák, M. W. (pl. *káka*), s. f. (Gr., Bhm. *kak*; Hng. wanting), armpit.

Kálo, S., *kalo*, *K., adj. (Gr., Hng. *kalo*; Hng., Bhm. *kálo*), black. *Kál'i kahńi*, crow, S. Chimney-sweeper, *a.*, S.: *Oda kálo gél'as and-o murvano xeu*—The sweep went into the chimney.

Kalixo (read *kal'ixo*), M. W., s. m. (*kalixentsa*, M. W., the form of the nom. sg. cannot be stated with certainty; Sl. *kalich*), cup.

Kamarád'is, *kamarádos*, S., *kamaratis*, M. W., s. m. (Slov. *kamarád*, *kamarát*), comrade.

Kamau, S., *kamav*, M. W., *K., vb. tr., pt. pt., *kamlo* (Gr. *kamama*, pt. pf. *kamno*; Hng., Bhm. *kamav*). 1. To will, to wish: *Akana kamen jaha pre vandrouka*—Now will we go a-wandering; *So kames mandar, me tut dava*—What thou wishest (to obtain) from me, that I shall give thee. Impersonally used: *kamel pes*. *Pes mange na kamel te sovel*—I am not asleep; cf. Serb., *ne hoće mi se spavati*; Mikl., Germ., *Es will sich mir nicht schlafen*. 2. To love: *Kanan man tu, mro piráno, na kames*—Since thou my sweetheart, dost not love me—Kal.

Kampel, S., *kampol*, *a.*, S., vb. imp. (referred to √*kam* by Mikl., M. W. vii. 71; Gr., Bhm. wanting; Hng. *kampe*, *kámpe*), it is necessary. *Asake na kampel, chak mind'ar and-o sáhy te*

thárel yag h-ánda yag te chivel—For such one it is only necessary that a wood-pile be set fire to, and she be thrown into the fire.

Kan, M. W., s. m. (Gr. *kann*; Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), ear.

Kana, K., S.; *kanan*, K.; *kanas*, M.; conj. (Gr. *kanna*; Hng., Bhm. *kana*), 1. When? (adv.); 2. When (conj.): *Kanas xale, géle inke yek dugo drom*—When they might have eaten, they went yet a long way—Mikl. 3. If: *Kana man na kames, ker tuke sar kames*—If thou dost not love me, do what thou wilt. 4. For, because: *Lakro dad has and-e ba'ri laj, kana hi igen barvalo, he nashchi pes lake rom tal'inel*—Her father was much ashamed, for he is very rich, and she cannot gain a husband.

Kanalas? a., K., adv. (may be referred to *kana*), then.

Kangéri, S., *khangeri*, M. W., S., s. f. (Gr. *kangiri*; Hng. *khangéri*; Bhm. *kxangéri*; Ješ. 611), church.

Kapal'i, S., *khapali*, M. W., s. f. (Mod. Gr. *καπηλεῖον*; wanting in other dialects), inn. *And'om ande yekh kapal'i he mangl'om mange trine brusńárenge labárd'i*—I went into an inn and asked for brandy for three kreuzers.

Kapau, S., vb. tr. (from Slov. *kapat'*, to drip, to trickle, or rather connected with *kapal'i*?), to drink.

Kapsa, S., s. f. (Slov. *kapsa*), pocket.

Kár, S., s. m. (Gr. *kar*; Hng. *kár*; Bhm., cf. *karo*), penis.

Karfin, M. W., S., s. f., pl. *karfa* (Gr., pl. *karfia*; Hng. *krafin*; Bhm. = Sl.), pin, nail.

Káridińi, a., S., s. f. (from the following; Gr., Hng., Bhm. wanting), pistol. *Mind'ar o rai xudińas e káridińi*—Immediately the lord took the pistol.

Kárie dau, S., *káriye dav*, M. W., *kárye dav*, K., vb. tr. (Gr. wanting; Hng. *kéria dav*; Bhm. *karie dav*), to shoot, to kill by a shot. *Mind'ar len preko dińas kárie*—Immediately he shot them through.

Karo, S., s. m. (Gr., Hng. *kar*; Bhm. *karro*; only in Sl. there being discerned between "penis," cf. *kár* and "thorn"), thorn.

Karta, S., s. f. (Slov. *karta*), card, cf. s. *hrainau*.

Karuńi, a., S., s. f. (This I assume to be connected with Gr. *karavidini*; Hng. *karabin*, *karodin*, crab, which changed its meaning, the word for "crab" in Sl. being *rakos*, which see), spider.

Karvalo, S., s. m. (Gr. wanting; Hng., Bhm. *karialo*, cf. Ptt. ii. 118), flesh.

Kasálinav, *M., vb. tr. (Mag. *kaszálni*; Hng. *kasalinav*), to mow.

Kasht, M. W., S., s. m. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), wood.

Kashtoro, S., s. m. (dim. of *kasht*), wood, branch (of a tree).

Kashtuno, S., adj. (wanting in Gr, which, however, has *kashtunano*; Hng. = Sl.; Bhm. *kashtúno*), wooden.

Kashtuńi, S., s. f. (the fem. of the foregoing: in Bhm. it denotes a wooden spoon), brandy made from juniper berries; gin (Mag. *borovicska*; Slov. *borovička*).

Kasht'ilis, M. W., s. m. (Slov. *kaštiel'*), castle.

Katar, M. W., K., S., *kathar*, S., adv. prp. (Gr., Hng. *katar*; Bhm. *kathar*). 1. Whence: *Katar sal?*—Whence art thou? 2. From: *Jau the me prech katar tumende*—Even I go away from you. 3. Near, beside: *Kana sal tu katar mande páshli*—When thou art (*quand tu couches*) beside me—Kal.

Katona, a., S., m. voc. (Mag. *katona*), soldier.

Kava, K., pron. dem., cf. *akava* (*kava* has not been confirmed by my Gypsies), that one—Kal.

Ke. See *kia*.

Kedau, M. W., S., *kedav*, K., vb. tr. pt. pf., *kedino*? Mikl., M. W. vii. 55 (Gr. *gedava*; Hng. *kedav*, *khedav*; Bhm. wanting), to collect.

Kedinau, S., vb. tr., pt. pf., *kedindo* (whence the Hng. pf. *kedind'a*; Gr., Bhm. wanting), to draw. *O chiba avri kedind'as*—He drew out the tongues.

Kedveshno, *K. adj. (Mag. *kedves*), dear, beloved (tender-hearted, Kal.).

Kelau. See *Khelau*.

Ker, K., S., *khér*, M. W., s. m. (Gr., Hng. *kher*, *ker*; Bhm. *kér*), house.

Kére, M. W., S. (loc. of the same used as an adverb), at home, home. *You hi barvalo kére*—He is rich at home (he has a rich family). *Ja kére*—Go home!

Kerau, S.; *kerav*, M. W., K.; *kxerav*, *M., vb. tr. pl. pf.; *kerdo*, S.; *kerlo*, M. W. (seldom), (Gr. *kerava*; Hng. *kerav*, *kherav*; Bhm. *kérav*). 1. To do, to make, to arrange, etc.: *Chak mantsa keren, uzh so kamen* = "Modo de me facite, iam quod vultis." *Kerau bálos*, to arrange a ball (fête); *kerav biyau*, arrange nuptials, to marry; *kerau bút'i*, to work. *Kerd'as pes andro mangave handri*—He dressed himself in beggar's clothes. 2. To do evil (to another), cf. English slang, to "do for" (another): *Uzhár chulo, the me les kerava*—Wait a little and I will do him evil; *Kerau man* (3.) To become (by transmutation): *Kerd'as pes le kachitsendar shukár mánush*——The ducks were transformed into a beautiful man (*lit.* There became from the ducks a beautiful man), M. W., *kerel pes*, imp., it happens, it takes place. *So pes leha kerel?*—What is happening to him? M. W.

Kerado, K., adj. (not noted, so far as I know, in any other dialect; cf. Sanscrit $\sqrt{ghar}$, to burn), hot, burning.

Kereki, *a.*, S., s. pl. (Mag. *kerek*, wheel), car.

Kerestos, M., S., s. m. (Mag. *kereszt*), cross.

Keroro, S., *kheroro*, M. W. (dim. of *ker*), hut, cot.

Ketsi, M. W., S., *ket'si*, M., S. (Gr. *keti*; Hng., Bhm. *ketsi*), how much. 1. interr.: *Ketsi hi tut bersh?*—How old are you (lit. how many years have you?). 2. relat.: *Ketsi kamla sáko mánush, atsi shai khelel*—As much as every man would wish, so much he can dance. *Ketsijene*, how many? M. W.

Kezhaluno, S., adj. (Gr. *keshulano*; Hng. wanting; Bhm. *keshalúno*), of silk, silken.

Kia, S., *kiya*, M. W.; *kie*, K., S., *ki*, *kis*, (=ki-o): K. *he* *M., M. W., K., S. prp. Before the article *o*, *e* and the pron. *oda*, *odova* the prp. is abbreviated: *ki-*, *k-*, e.g. *ki-oda*, *k-oda* (Gr., Hng. *ki*, *ke*; Bhm. *kia*). 1. To: *Ja akanak ke mande*—Come to me immediately; *Chinde ki-o firshtos*—They wrote (sent a letter) to the prince. 2. At: *K-aver rai xudava lókeder than*—At another merchant's I shall buy cloth at a more moderate price. *Kiy-o uterkos*, on Tuesday, M. W.; *ke rát'i*, *kiya rát'i*, adv., in the evening, s., the evening. *Kana avla e kiyaráti*—When the evening shall come.

Kixinel, pes., *a.*, M. W., vb. imp. (Slov. *kýchat'*, pers.), to sneeze. *Pes leske kixinlas*, he sneezed, M. W.

Kil? *a.*, K. (not confirmed), in, into, Kal.

Kil. See *t'hil*.

Kinau, S., *kinav*, K.; *tsinav*, *K, vb. tr. (Gr. *kinava*; Hng., Bhm. *kinav*; Hng. *t'inav*), to buy.

Kinávav, K., vb. tr. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. wanting), to buy.

Kindovos, M. W., s. m., comb.

Kirvo, S., s. m. (Gr. *kirivo*, *kirvo*; Hng. *ćirvo*; Bhm. = Sl.), god-father.

Kirvoro, M. W., s. m. (dim. of the same), god-father.

Kisaris, S., s. m. (Germ. *Kaiser*), emperor.

Klopinav, *a.*, M. W., vb. itr. (Slov. *klopat'*), to beat, hurt.

Kl'achinau, S., vb. itr. (Slov. *kl'ačat'*), to kneel.

Kleitsa (read *kl'*—), M. W., s. f. (Slov.), key.

Kl'id'i, S., *kl'idi*, M. W., s. f. (Gr., *klidi*, *kilidi*; Hng. *klidin*, lock; Bhm. = Sl.), key.

Klid'orí (read *kl'*-), M. W., s. f. (dim. of *kl'id'i*), key.

Kl'upka, M. W., s. f. (Slov.[1]), drop.

Ko. K., S., pron. int. obl. *kas* (Gr. *kon*; Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), who?

Kokalos, M. W., S., s. m. pl. *kokala*, S. (Gr. *kokkalo*, pl. *kokkala*; Hng. *kokalo*; Bhm. = Sl. pl. = Sl.), bone.

Kokaluno, *a.*, S., s. m. adj.? (from the foregoing; Gr., Hng., Bhm. not noted), nail, as an adjective not stated.

Kokóro, S.; *kokoro*, K.; *korkóro*, S.; *korkoro*, *K., pron. (Gr. *korkoro*, *kolkoro*); 1. alone; 2. one's-self. *Me*

[1] The original word I could not find in my dictionaries.

man kokóri mudárava—I shall kill myself. A Slavism, the Slavic languages using one and the same word in both meanings.

Kol'in, S., s. m. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. *kolin*), breast. When asked how he calls "cough," a Gypsy said: *O kol'in dukal* (One feels pain in his breast).

Kol'isinav, M. W., vb. tr. (Slov. *kolísat'*), to swing, to rock.

Kompańia, S., s. f. (Slov. *kompania*), company (of militia).

Kopa, K., s. f. (Slov. *kopa*), multitude, heap.

Koreńis? M. W., s. m. (Slov. *koreň*. The nom. of the Sl. word is inferred from the instr. *koreniha*, *koreninťsa*, M. W.), root.

Korito? S., s. f. (Slov. *koryto*, trough). Whether the Slov. word means the same is not clear; cf. *E rákl'a peske ile and-o verdo he uchárde la duye ase koritentsa, yekto de* (?) *upral, aver telāl* (in the tale, *O chóra*).

Koryovav, M. W., vb. itr. (Gr. *koryovava*; Hng., Bhm. not noted), to become blind.

Kosav. See *khosav*.

Kosno, S., *kósno*, M. W., s. m. (Gr., Bhm. *kosno*; Hng. *khosno*), kerchief.

Kosnóro, M. W., S., *kosnoro*, *K., s. m. (dim. of the same), kerchief.

Kost'el'ńikos, S., s. m. (Slov. *kostolník*; but Tchk. *kostelník*), sacristan.

Kosharis, S., s. m. (Slov. *kosiar*; Mag. *kosár*), sheepfold, hurdle.

Koshav, M. W., vb. tr.? (cf. Ptt. II. 120; Gr. wanting; Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), to scold, to chide.

Koshavau, a., S., vb. tr. (the same?). The meaning is not clear, for the sentence which contains the word belongs to a very obscure passage in the tale, *O Trin Draki*, viz. *Pale mind'ar you oda bruntsl'ikos jánd'as, hoi hi odoi* viz. *o drakos*); *pale jou mind'ar pes leske kerd'as; asi xeu has odoi, papale you oda duye kurden mukl'as upre, u you aso koshad'as les* (whom? the dragon?) *u pale gou phend'as ole kurdenge, hoi ka les te muken p-and-o xeu.*

Kosho, *koshos*, S., s. m. (Slov. *kôš*) basket.

Kosht'inau, M. W., S., vb. tr. (Slov. *koštovat'*, from the Germ. *kosten*), 1. Cost: *Nisht les na kosht'inela, ańi brusńaris*—It will him nothing cost, not even a kreuzer. 2. To taste, to try (food), M. W.

Koter, M. W., K., S., *kotor*, K. (*kotre*, a little, Kal.), s. m. (Gr., Hng. *kotor*; Bhm. *koter*), piece. *Mek xuden les havore jéne, chingeren pre sama kotera*—All of them may seize him (and) rend him in pieces.

Kotroro, M. W., s. m. (dim. of *koter*) small piece.

Kova, M., W., K., S., pron. dem.? indef.? f., *koya*, *koi*, M. W.; *koda*, K. (Gr. *kova*, m., f., Hng. f., Bhm., f., thing, matter, something). Kal. sg. gives *kova*, that; *koda*, this. I never found it used demonstratively. My Gypsies used to say—*kova*, *koya*, for anything, of which the correct word did not come immediately into their heads.[1] Thus they translated "comrade" by *kova*, "book" by *koya*, and so on.

Kraichiris, S., s. m. (Slov. *krajči*), tailor.

Kraina, S., *krayna*, M. (Slov. *krajina*), region, province, territory.

Král'is, S. *królis*, M. W., s. m. (cf. Mikl., M. W. vii. 87; Gr. *kralis*; Hng., Bhm. wanting; the Hng. *királi* being borrowed immediately from the Mag.), king.

Kralisko, M. W., adj., royal.

Kral'os, M. W., s. m. (formed from *král'is*, the Slov. calling being *král'ovstvo*), empire, kingdom.

Krchma, K., s. f. (Slov. *krčma*), inn.

Krchmaris, M. W., s. m. (Slov. *krčmár*), inn-keeper, landlord.

Krko, K., adj. (Gr., Hng. *kerko*; Bhm. *krrko*, bitter), hot (?) Kal.

Krmo, S., s. m. (Gr. *krmo*; Hng. not noted; Bhm. *krrmo*), worm.

Krno, S. (Gr., Hng. *kerno*; Bhm. *krrno*). putrid.

Krstos, S., s. m. (Slov. *krst*), baptism.

Krutinav, a., M. W., vb. itr.? (Slov.

[1] Germans in Austria in such cases say *Dings da*, which fully coincides with the G. expression.

krútiť), to turn. *Krutinel la kleitsaha*, he turns the key.

Kuch, S., adj. (Gr. wanting; Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), dear, costly.

Kuches, K., adv. (from the foregoing?), well. *Me vakerau kuches*—I speak well (I can speak well).

Kuchika? M. W., K. (probably *kuchik*), s. f. (Gr. wanting; Hng., Bhm. *kuchi*), pot.

Kudushis, S., s. m. (Mag. *koldus*; Hng. *kodushis*), beggar.

Kudushkos, S., s. m. (dim. of *kudushis*, formed in Slov., manner), beggar.

Kuxárka, S., s. f. (Slov. *kuchárka*), cook-maid.

Kul, *a.*, S., s. m. (Gr. *kul*, *kful*; Hng. *khul*; Bhm. wanting), excrement.

Kuńik, S., s. f. (Gr., Hng. *kuni*; Gr. *kunik*; Bhm. *kúńi*), elbow.

Kúrau, S., *khurav*, M. W., vb. tr. itr. (Gr. *kurava*, to beat; Bhm. *kúrav*, to thrust; Hng. *kurav*, to thrust, 'futuere'), *coïre*. 1. With the acc. case, if there is a masc. subject: *Auka la mind'ar pr-e post'el'a chivlas he mind'ar la kúrd'as.* 2. With the instr. case, if the subj. is fem.: *Tumen dujéha, tumen kúrd'an ole bengentsa.*

Kurdo, S., s. m. (Gr. *khuro*, *kuro*, colt; Bhm. *kurdo*, stallion), lad, fellow. The existence (cf. Mikl. M. W. VII. 81) and meaning of this word in Sl. is proved by some passages of the story, *O trin Draki*. There it is said that the *Bruntsl'ikos* found two companions: *Odoi pes ase kamaráda rákle dujéne*—The three went to seek the dragon: they came to the cavern (hole) where the dragon lived. *Papale you oda duye kurden mukl'as upre . . . u pále you phend'as ole kurdenge, hoi ka les te muken p-ando xeu, p-anda shtrankos téle vash lake*—Then he left the two lads (remaining) above . . . and afterwards he said to the lads, that they might lower him into the hole by a cord for the purpose of (bringing) her.

Kurentinau, S., vb. itr. (vlg. Slov.? Germ. *currentieren*), to divulge, to publish.

Kurko, M. W., K., S. s. m. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. = Sl.) 1. Sunday; *kurkes.*, M. W. 2. Week: *Pr-o kurko dostainlas oxto rup*—Every week he obtained eight florins.

Kuroro, *khuroro*, M. W., s. m. (dim. of *kuro*, cf. *kurdo*), colt.

Kust'ik, S., s. m. (Gr. *kyushtik*, girdle; Hng. *kushtik*, rainbow; Bhm. wanting), girdle.

Kveros, *a.*, S., s. m. (vlg. Slov. *kver*, from the Germ. *Gewehr*), gun, rifle.

Kh.

Khābńi. See *Kabni*.

Kxam, *M., s. m. (Gr. *kam*; Hng., Bhm. *kham*), sun.

Kxamóro, *M., s. m. (dim. of the same), sun.

Khandau, M. W., S., vb. itr., pl. pf., *khandino* (Gr. *kandava*; Hng., Bhm. *khandav*, to stink), to smell, to have a smell.

Khandines, M. W., adv. (cf. Hng., Bhm. *khandino*, adj.), stinking.

Khangeri. See *Kangeri*.

Khapal'i. See *Kapal'i*.

Khas, M. W., s. m. (Gr., Hng. *kas*; Bhm. = Sl.), hay.

Khelau, M. W., S., *kelau*, S., *kelav*, K. vb. itr. (Gr. *kelava*; Hng., Bhm. *khelav*), to dance.

Kheliben, S., s. m. (Gr. *kelibe*; Hng. *khelibe*; Bhm. = Sl.), dance.

Khóro, M. W., *koro*, K., s. m. (Gr. *koro*, cup; Hng., Bhm. *khoro*, *khóro*), pitcher.

Khosav, *kosav*, M. W., vb. tr. (Gr. *koshava*; Hng., Bhm. *khosav*), to steal away, to rub, to wash.

Khurav. See *Kúrav*.

Khurmin, M. W., s. f. (Gr. *kurmi*; Hng. wanting; Bhm. = Sl.), millet.

Khuroro. See *Kuroro*.

REVIEWS.

Ethnographia. Budapest, 1890, Vol. I., Nos. 1-3 (being the numbers for January, February, and March 1890).

THE recently-formed Magyar Ethnological and Folk-Lore Society, of which *Ethnographia*[1] is the organ, has already been mentioned in our pages (vol. i., p. 369). The first number of *Ethnographia* begins with a brief editorial preface by Dr. L. Réthy, which is followed by the opening address of the President, M. Paul Hunfalvy, wherein he dwells upon the great ethnographic importance of the study of the many languages of Hungary. M. M. Jokai, the eminent Hungarian novelist, who is unsurpassed among living romance writers in his power of depicting popular manners and varied characters, then contributes an address of congratulation, in which, after certain reminiscences of the Crown Prince Rudolf, he emphasises the great influence of folk-lore upon poetry. And he gives a very high place to the study of ethnography, expressing the belief that the interchange of ideas on this subject, between men of various nationalities, is more likely than anything else to lead to the cessation of all antagonism between nations. Following the report by Professor Herrmann (who is Secretary to the Society, as well as a director of its Gypsy section) comes the Archduke Joseph's article on the Gypsies. While this article contains nothing actually new, it gives an admirably condensed review of the origin and history of the Gypsies, their first appearance in Hungary, etc. Dr. Herrmann discourses on the subject of founding a "Folk-lore" museum; and, again, in relation to the Southern Slavonic Academies. Further communications by Dr. Réthy and His Imperial and Royal Highness are succeeded by a letter of greeting from the President of this Society to the new organisation.[2] In the course of these remarks Mr. Leland recognises the inspiring influence of folk-lore upon poetry and music, an observation which, coinciding as it does with those independently made by M. Jokai, calls forth from the translator, Dr. L. Katona, a graceful tribute to the "unconscious sympathy"

[1] We have previously referred to this journal under its prospective title of *Folk-Lore;* but this designation was not eventually adopted by the Society. This is a matter of congratulation for English readers, as henceforth the title of "Folk-Lore" will be exclusively identified with the quarterly journal issued by the Folk-Lore Society of London, which, commencing with the number of March 1890, amalgamates the previously existing *Folk-Lore Journal* and the *Archæological Review.*

[2] Mr. Leland had the honour of representing the Hungarian Society (of which he is a member of committee) at the Paris Congress on Popular Traditions last summer, and this is cordially acknowledged in the pages of *Ethnographia* by a formal vote of the Society.

between the two writers. Among other contributions are several popular ballads of the Hungarian Wends. The most notable item in the miscellaneous paragraphs is a suggestion by Dr. Herrmann that a great Ethnographic Exhibition should be held at the coming Millennial Festival, which celebrates the arrival of the Magyars in Hungary a thousand years ago. Whether such an exhibition be confined to Hungary, which itself offers a great variety of type, or whether it takes a wider range, the idea is most commendable. The educative influence of such an exhibition is great, and one would like to see many collections established throughout Europe of equal value to the admirable and comprehensive Ethnographic Museum at Moscow (a visit to which, as well as the courtesy he there met with, is recalled by the present writer with peculiar pleasure).

In strict consonance with the foregoing remarks is the article "Ethnographia: Ethnologia: Folk-lore," with which Dr. Louis Katona opens the February number of the journal. This paper, which is the most important in the number, gives a masterly and extensive survey of the whole field of folk-lore, past and present; and Dr. Katona points out the kinship of the three subjects which form his theme, and their combined effect upon history and general culture. Dr. Réthy also contributes a paper on an alleged settlement of Huns in Switzerland, the evidence for which, however, does not seem to him convincing. Among other articles there is one by a "Hungarian Mussulman." To conclude these observations, the following important note appears in the March number (p. 164):—

"An Item concerning the History of the Hungarian Gypsies.

"Only here and there do we find a few data concerning the Gypsies in past centuries. The following, although very slight, is very characteristic, and it is of considerable age, since it dates from the year 1490.

"In that year, at Greben (country of Körös), the will of a certain Ladislas Hermanfy, whose possessions descended to the Battyáni family, is found to contain this item, in connection with the disposal of his money and movables:— 'Besides these, I possess four smaller horses, one of which I leave to Andreas Bornemisza, namely, the one I bought from John Tekócz; the second, which belonged to Hrusi, I leave to my servant Janchecz; the third, which I bought from the Egyptians or Czingány (*ab Egiptys sive Czynganis*), I leave to my servant Istók. This horse is a grey one, and used to be a carriage horse.'

"These words, few as they are, clearly demonstrate that even in olden times our Gypsies had a great predilection for horse-dealing.

"The paper above referred to is to be found in the archives of Prince Battyáni, in Körmend, and is thus classified: Alman. iv. lad. 2. n. 45. Cs. D."

Among recent contributions to "Zigeuner" lore the *Orientalische Bibliographie* (iii. 6 and 7) mentions the following:—A reference in

the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (xxi. 3, p. 714), in a paragraph by Mr. C. Bendall, entitled "Sinhalese Literature"; M. Bataillard's "Les débuts de l'Immigration des Tsiganes," in the *Bulletin Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris*, xii. 2, pp. 255-65; Rudolf Bergner's "Zigeunergeschichten," *Ausland*, 52, pp. 1036-9; and Heinrich von Wlislocki's "Drei Lieder der siebenbürgischen Zigeuner aus der Kurutzenzeit," *Zeitschrift vergl. Littgesch.* iii., 1/2, pp. 140-2. To these may be added the somewhat flippant little brochure on the Gitanas who figured at the Paris Exhibition last year (*Les Belles du Monde: Gitanas*, par Catulle Mendès et Rodolphe Darzens[1]), which devotes itself chiefly to a description of their dances and of their rocky homes at Grenada; the whole being cleverly illustrated by M. L. Métivet. The Spanish Gypsies have also been recently described by Mr. Edgar L. Wakeman in the columns of the *Boston* (U.S.) *Evening Transcript* of March 1. In spite of his "quarter century's personal study of the Romany race," and the fact that he "was made a 'gorgio chal,' or a non-Gypsy brother" ("unexpectedly, and with some curious rites") by some Romanies in Illinois, one cannot rely very thoroughly upon Mr. Wakeman's accuracy, when one finds him making such statements as these:—That, since Borrow's time, "no one possessing Romany knowledge has ventured to treat of the subject" of the Spanish Gypsies; that a "Gypsy census" "was taken on one day throughout all Spain" by "Pancho Tomas and a few other important heads of clans," in which census the "Gitani," as Mr. Wakeman prefers to call them, are classified as "Drom rajahs (road lords) or roving Gypsies" and "kair rajahs (town lords) or city Gypsies"; that the Gypsies of past centuries, "like the peasants of those days, were so wretched a lot that any description of them must necessarily be untrue of them now"; and that "Levi Stanley, of Ohio" (obviously of English-Gypsy ancestry), is descended from the Scottish Gypsies of Kirk-Yetholm. Nevertheless, the following description of a Gypsy settlement, situated "in a sunny mountain valley near the quaint old hill-town of Granadella," on the northern frontier of the province of Tarragona, Catalonia, seems worth quoting:—

"Strictly speaking, it could not be called an encampment, for while a number of patched tents and rude wooden cabins could be seen, the Gypsy village with all its uncouth scenes occupied the site of an abandoned pueblo, in which perhaps two hundred ruinous structures were still standing. These were very ancient. Many were utterly uninhabitable, roofs or portions of the walls having fallen in; but against the remaining walls of such most comfortable temporary huts had been

[1] Paris; E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. (50 centimes.)

built. Some of these were curious indeed. Loose stones had been formed into end-walls running at a sharp angle from the ground up against the old side walls still standing. The roof was composed of skins or coarse cloth, running from the ground to the peaks of the temporary walls; and the entrances to such were invariably from within the ruined olden habitation. Others were formed by the stones and mortar of a ruin falling down on all sides, thus snugly protecting some single apartment. Most curious and suggestive of all, hinting to one's fancy a common instinct between these wanderers from Hindostan and the earliest house-builders among the Celts of Western Europe, were seven huts, exact duplicates of the bee-hive cells of Brittany, Cornwall, and Ireland, of such extraordinary interest to archæologists. These had been built of the lighter and thinner stones, in horizontal layers, each one slightly inwardly overlapping the lower one, and forming a dome-shaped structure, with a hole in the top and a small door, which invariably faced the east. The latter is a custom with all Gypsies, for which they will, or can, give no reason, though it undoubtedly is a lingering proof of their earlier worship of the sun. Some of the more important members of the band, the 'prominent citizens,' as it were, occupied structures which were still habitable, to Gypsies, after slight pothering and mending; but the chief of the tribe, Pancho Tomas, and three or four of his sons' and daughters' families, were residing in much composure and comfort in the still firmly-standing range of cloisters from which the once capacious church of the mountain town had as completely fallen away and disappeared as though it had never existed."

Another Boston periodical, *The Youth's Companion*, of 2d January 1890, has "An Evening with the Gypsies," contributed by Mrs. A. G. Lewis. While this is largely meant to benefit the simulated "Gypsy" of the drawing-room or the fancy fair, it contains an account, "truthful in every particular," of a Russian-Gypsy wedding ceremony, the most striking feature of which is that the proceedings are all conducted in pantomime.

We are also favoured with the following Gypsy items, extracted from recent (1890) English newspapers:—January 3—*Sussex News.*—Sophia Lee, Gypsy, sentenced to seven days' imprisonment for exposing her two children, aged ten and two years, to the danger of their health. January 3—*Colchester Mercury.*—Wm. Gaskin, Gypsy, charged with allowing horses to stray on the highway at Langham. January 18—*Western Daily Mercury.*—John Lee, "King of the Gypsies," died at Treleaver, Mabe, "but a very little short of a centenarian." January 31—*The Echo.*—Of eighty Gypsies encamped on Muswell Hill, complaints that they were without any sanitary arrangements. February 19—*Sussex Daily News.*—Complaint to the magistrates at Lewes that "it is not unusual for seven or eight families of Gypsies at a time to encamp on Chailey Common."

Among those publications which, although not devoted to the study of Gypsy Lore, occasionally yield us very valuable facts in connection therewith, is the new *Rassegna di Letteratura popolare e*

dialettale of Rome, the first number of which appeared with the beginning of the present year. A summary of the contents of the January number is given, with other particulars, on the cover of our *Journal*. One of the most useful sections of the *Rassegna* is its *Spoglio de' Periodici*, which records very fully the contents of the various journals dealing with folk-lore, etc. For example, the *Rassegna* for January devotes more than four columns to *La Tradition*, *Volkskunde*, the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, and the *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*; and other similar journals (among which we observe our own) are named for succeeding numbers. This new periodical is therefore to a great extent a folk-lore news-sheet or "exchange," and as such ought to prove an admirable aid to the larger and more expensive journals. It is to be hoped that the *Rassegna di Letteratura popolare* may meet with the success which it merits.

From the same quarter comes the first volume of *Il Volgo di Roma*,[1] a projected series dealing with popular traditions and customs, issued under the direction of Signor Francesco Sabatini, each volume of which will be independent of the others. Three of the articles in this first volume relate to popular songs and melodies, but the opening article ("*Gaetanaccio*, memorie per servire alla storia dei burattini," by F. Chiappini) has a special interest when taken in connection with the remarks made in last number of our *Journal* (pp. 22-24) on the subject of Gypsies and the itinerant exhibitors of puppet-shows. The *burattinaio* who forms the subject of Signor Chiappini's article is not stated to have been a Gypsy, but the connection between Gypsies and his special calling is very distinct; indeed, the account quoted by Mr. Groome in the article already referred to seems to indicate (p. 23, lines 33-37) that those puppet-shows are, in origin, Gypsy.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

I.

Royal Edict expelling Gypsies from France, 1660.

We have been favoured by M. Henri Gaidoz with the following extract:—

Declaration dv Roy contenant la défense du port d'armes à feu, pistolets de poche, poignards et cousteaux en forme de bayonnettes, et autres réglemens pour la seureté publique. *Registrée en Parlement le Lundy vingtième Décembre mil six cens soixante.*

. . . .

[1] Rome: Ermanno Loescher and Co. (Lire 3.)

XII.

Enjoignons pareillement à nos Baillifs et Seneschaux, et autres nos Officiers, faire commandement à ceux qui s'appellent Bohémiens ou Egyptiens, ou autres de leur suite, de vuider dans vn mois nostre Royaume et païs de nostre obeissance, à peine des galères, ou autre punition corporelle.

. . . .

2.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE LURIS.

"The language of the Kurds in the mountainous countries of Kurdistan and Laristan seems to be divided into five chief dialects, those of *Zazá*, *Kurmánji*, *Kelhúri*, *Guráni*, and *Lūri*." (P. 136 of Lepsius' *Standard Alphabet*, London and Berlin, 1863). Is the "Lūri" dialect here spoken of the language of the *Luris*, or Gypsies, of these regions? If so, it would seem that the Gypsy Luris are allied to the Kurds. DAVID MACRITCHIE.

3.

A HUNGARIAN GYPSY IN NORTHERN AFRICA.

Hungary is the Fata Morgana of the wandering Gypsy. For centuries he has roamed it over, with his violin on his arm; he has acquired the right of regarding the Pushta as his well-loved fatherland; he has gained the very foot of the throne, and, under the most august favour, he produces those melodies which are at once so full of passion and of sadness.

I shall ever remember a scene which I witnessed in Africa. It was one evening at the base of the superb mountains of Mustapha Supérieur, just as the setting sun flooded the plain with his last rays of golden and crimson light—the gold and purple of the incomparable majesty of the Eastern sky. I observed a caravan of nomads encamped in the plain, beneath their tents. I drew near, and saw that they were Gypsies, but Gypsies who had dwelt under other skies. Some were Spanish Gitanos, with garments of many hues, their shears hanging by their sides, at the end of a silvered chain wound around their blades; the others came from Morocco, and wore the simple white attire of the children of the desert.

They received me with indifference. By means of my knowledge of Italian, I managed at length to make the Gitanos understand that I came from Hungary. They were at once alive with interest. "Hungaria!" I heard them whisper into one another's ears, and finally, an old Gypsy man informed me: "There is one of us who comes straight from that very country."

They ran all at once to seek him out. But the young Gypsy—a superb, swarthy figure—quite unmoved, maintained a proud and gloomy silence. Did he suspect me of untruth in telling him that I knew that Hungary, so far away beyond the wide stretch of sea? He may have thought so.

However, I saw that the old Gitano had told the truth. The dress of the young nomad was entirely Hungarian, from his shining boots up to his little Magyar calpak. His attire, generally, was rather rich than poor. Had I conversed with him in Hungarian, perhaps his heart would have softened. But he remained thus, sombre and mistrustful, and only the Gitanos who, in their fantastic rags, stood around us, repeated vivaciously in Spanish, as they pointed towards him: "Patria Hungaria!"—Madame Marlet, in *La Revue de l'Orient* of 20th January 1889.

4.

"SHELTA"—THE TINKERS' TALK.

(See the Article on *Irish Tinkers and their Language*, vol. i. of our Journal, pp. 350-357.)

My first acquaintance with "Shelta" was made in the summer of last year, while I was spending some holidays in the island of Tiree, off the west coast of Argyll. A lady friend of mine, who resided in the island, gave me some words and phrases she had obtained from a little tinker girl some time before.

She obtained the words in the following way. One day going by chance into the kitchen, she found there a tinker boy and girl, who had come round begging. Entering into conversation with them in Gaelic (I believe they spoke no English) she was informed by the little girl that—to quote her words—"We have a language of our own." My friend asked her to tell some of the words, and on her doing so, wrote them down. As they had a Gaelic ring about them, she wrote these words according to the Gaelic mode of spelling.

On their return home the little boy "told" on his sister, and next day their mother came along to see my friend. She said the words did not belong to any language at all, but had been made-up by the little girl herself. This my friend knew was not true, as the boy had also shown a knowledge of the language. On my showing the words to a friend I was advised to send a copy of them to Mr. C. G. Leland, and get his opinion concerning them.

This I did, and was informed by that gentleman that the words belonged to the "Shelta" language, and was referred to his own book, *The Gypsies*, in which "Shelta" was first made public. On reading that book I find that some of my words are the same as Mr. Leland's, allowing for the different systems of spelling. I here give the words and phrases as I got them, and to these I have added some notes, showing the words I consider similar to those of Mr. Leland, and those—both of my own list and Mr. Leland's—that I consider are similar to and connected with the Gaelic.

I agree with Mr. Leland that "Shelta" is *not* Gaelic, because my friend and I went over the words trying to find some connection between the two languages. "Shelta" has, however, both Gaelic and slang words mixed up with it.

Words obtained from tinker girl in island of Tiree:—

noìd = a man.
beor = a woman.
peartaig, a girl.
glomhach, an old man.
liogach bin, a small boy.
suillean, a baby.
mo chàmair, my mother.
mo dhatair, my father.
clèidean, clothing.
luirean, shoes.
pras, food.
turan, a loaf.
tur, fire.
reagain, a kettle.
sclàtaich, tea.
mealaidh, sweet.
cian bin, a tent.
cian toim, a white house, or cottage.
gifan, a horse.
blànag, a cow.
deasag shean, a ragged, old, or dirty person.
deasag toim, a pretty, clean, or neat person.
air a sgeamhas, drunk.
s' deachag òb, I am tired.
s' dèis sium a meartsacha air a charan, we are going on the sea.
noìd a maslachadh air an lanach, a man walking on the highway.
s' guidh a bagail air mo ghil, it is raining.

Comparing the Tiree list with Mr. Leland's words, I observe as follows:—

Beor is similar to *bewr*, a woman; *bin* (pron. been) = *binny*, small; *pras* = *brass*, food; *tur*, fire = *terri*, fuel; while *turan*, a loaf (or more probably an oat-cake baked

at the fire), and *terry*, a heating iron, are connected with *tur*; *sgeamhas* = *ishkimmish*, drunk. To the ear of an English-speaking person the way in which *sgeamhas* is pronounced, viz. with a preliminary breathing, would suggest that it was spelt with an *I*, prefixed to the word proper. *Cian*, a tent or dwelling = *kiéna*, a house.

Mo is Gaelic for my, and *dhatair* is probably connected with *athair*, the Gaelic for father.[1]

Mealaigh is apparently connected with Gaelic *milis*, sweet; and *shean* with Gaelic *sean*, old. *Air a sgeamhas* is probably literally translated by "on the spree"; *air a* is Gaelic for "on the."

From Mr. Leland's vocabulary the following are similar to or connected with the Gaelic:—

Muogh, a pig = Gaelic *muc*, a sow; *bord*, a table, is the Gaelic word. *Scree*, to write = Gaelic *scrìobh* (pron. screeve).

The numerals quoted by Mr. Leland are really Gaelic:—

hain,	one,	Gaelic,	*aon*.
do,	two,	,,	*dha*.
tri,	three,	,,	*tri*.
k'air,	four,	,,	*ceithir* (pron. *k'air*).
cood,	five,	,,	*cuig*.
shay,	six,	,,	*se* (pron. *shay*).
schaacht,	seven,	,,	*seachd* (pron. *schaacht*).
ocht,	eight,	,,	*ochd*.
nai,	nine,	,,	*naoi*.
djai,	ten,	,,	*deich* (pron. *djaich*).

Nearly all these numerals are written by Mr. Leland as the Gaelic equivalents would be pronounced by an English-speaking person.

The word *sy* (a *sixpence*), which Mr. Leland includes among his examples of Shelta, is a common slang term with boys at Inverness.

G. Alick Wilson.

5.

Italian Gypsy Items.

Mr. J. Pincherle has favoured us with the following extracts:—

(a) *Gypsies who are not Gypsies.*

"Some days ago the gendarmes patrolling about the road to Prosecco (a village one hour's distance from Trieste) fell in with a band of Gypsies,—men and women, poorly clad, with tawny faces and long uncouth hair. Two carts, two donkeys, a horse, two dogs, and some better garments constituted all their visible wealth. The gendarmes asked them to show their passports, but this the Gypsies could not do, for the simple reason they had none to show; whereupon they were apprehended and taken to prison. The animals and the effects belonging to them were deposited in the dog-skinner's stable-yard. This Gypsy family was composed of the following members: —Francesco Carri fù Giovanni, 61 years old; Biagio Carri

[1] It is to be noted, however, that *dad*, or *dada* = "father," in many Gypsy dialects; and that it takes the form "*dat*chen," in one instance, in the north of England (as stated by Mr. Sampson, at p. 3 of the present volume of our Journal). *Dad*, or *dada*, is also used by some Gaelic-speaking castes in Ireland, of which, we believe, the population of *The Claddagh*, Galway, is an instance. Cf. Welsh *tad* = 'father,' and the ordinary *dad* and *daddy* of familiar English speech.—Ed.

di Francesco, 31; Maria Carri di Francesco, 36; Rosa Carri di Francesco, 23; Stefano Uzzieri fù Antonio, 19; and a little girl about 13 years of age, daughter to Maria Carri. When brought before the magistrate under the charge of vagabondage, the chief of the family, Francesco Carri, answered for all by saying that they were not vagabonds, inasmuch as they had a fixed residence, he having been settled for forty years at Cattinara (a village two hours' distant from Trieste), and all pertaining to the commune of Trieste. He, Francesco, is a horse-dealer, and every member of his family professes an art. He added that he had a licence from the captain of the district to move around the commune of this town; that he possesses the means of subsistence, and that, finally, he had made application for permission to exercise the profession of itinerant player, a permission he was yet waiting for.

"The Attorney-General asks that the law against vagabondage be enforced upon them, being convinced that they are true Gypsies, and that it does not clearly appear whence they find their means of subsistence, insisting therefore in their being punished accordingly. The magistrate, however, is not of the same opinion, because he finds the position of the defendants legitimate, and the possession of their means of subsistence ascertained; so that he declared *the Gypsies not to be Gypsies* (in the sense of vagabonds, that is to say, although he did not so express it), and pronounced a verdict of not guilty, setting them immediately at large." —(Translated from *Il Piccolo* of 9th Nov. 1889.)

(b) *A True Friend.*

"The Gypsy named Matteo Levacovich, cattle-dealer, while in a tavern at the old turnpike road on the 27th June last, fell in with a certain Domenico Verzon, 34 years old, of Trieste, whose acquaintance he had formed some time ago in prison. Their meeting was very cordial, like that of two old friends seeing each other after a long separation. Both sat down to the same table, and emptied together several tumblers. After a little the Gypsy rose to move on, but the other, pretending to profess a great friendship for him, would by no means let him go, and, by a little friendly persuasion, made him stay a while longer. They drank anew, and finally the Gypsy left him. That day the Gypsy had sold a horse, and he was therefore in possession of some money. When he had gone half way he felt his pocket to make sure that his pocket-book, in which he had put 47 florins. was still there, but he could not find it. He considered a little, and then persuaded himself that he had not lost it, as he had had it at the tavern, and when parting with his good friend he had not made the least movement which would cause it to fall out of his pocket. He then began to suspect that none but his dear friend had stolen it, which suspicion was the more confirmed as he recalled the embraces with which he had loaded him in order to persuade him to stay. Consequently he immediately betook himself to the tavern in order to find out his worthy friend. But in vain. Thereupon he went to the police and gave notice of the theft. A fortnight later, the Gypsy, strolling about the new port, happened to meet him and had him immediately apprehended. The judicial authority consequently prosecuted Verzon for theft. The defendant denied everything during the examination at the trial, but against him stood his guilty antecedents and the statement of the plaintiff that none but he could have been the thief, as the Gypsy at that moment had not been near any other person; moreover, there was the fact that, immediately after the theft, the defendant had paid the landlady in advance (an unwonted occurrence with him). Verzon was accordingly condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment with hard labour."—(From a Trieste paper of 21st September 1889.)

(c) *The Exploits of Two Gypsy Girls.*

"We read in the *Gazzetta di Bergamo* as follows:—We learn from Ambivere that a band of Gypsies pitched their tents in that commune on 29th April last.

The band was composed of three men, seven boys, and two young women, rather attractive in their way, with a train of animals and baggage. As soon as they arrived the two girls placed a mysterious box upon their shoulders, and proceeded to stroll about the fields, entering the peasants' houses whenever they ascertained that the men were out at their work. For they felt more sure of success when dealing with the women alone, on account of the superstitious ideas with which they are still imbued. They then began by opening the box, with a sanctimonious air, and with the greatest caution, as if something might slip out; then they produced an image of the Blessed Virgin, descanting with peculiar eloquence upon her striking miracles and favours bestowed—ever ready to be gracious provided an offering in money or goods be first presented—the grace being more or less abundant in proportion to the offering, which, in any case, was not to be less than one lira. Further, the offering entitled the donor to the celebration of a hundred masses on behalf of the dead, and for imploring the end of the Pope's imprisonment (!), the expulsion of Satan and his followers from Rome, and many other things too long to be enumerated here. The simple *contadine* for the most part adhered to the offering requested, whereupon the Gypsy girls, pocketing the offerings, locked up the mysterious box, and in solemn tones bade the woman kneel down and pray in a loud voice, while they (the Gypsies) were anointing their foreheads and the lower part of their ears with a handkerchief, and—in the case of the most generous ones —pulling their noses, having first made them smell a piece of musk.

"The ceremony ended with an oath, taken by the peasant women, not to speak to any one of all this under pain of excommunication, and the insertion of their respective names in a kind of album which the Gypsies had with them, for the purpose, as they said, of proceeding in an orderly way in their supplications for grace from the miraculous image.

"In this way, it is stated, the Gypsies succeeded in embezzling money, rings, earrings, linen, etc. etc."—(From *Il Piccolo* (della sera), May 4, 1889.)

6.

A Visit to the Moscow Gypsies.

"At the entrance of the park (the Petrofski Park) are some pretty summer villas built of wood, and ornamented with fretwork carvings in the well-known Russian style. Then, after driving along immense avenues bordered with fine trees, we reached the restaurants and concerts of which we had heard so much, Strelna, Mauritania, Arcadia, El Dorado, and others, where the famous Tsyganes or Bohémiennes sing. . . . These establishments consist of pinewood halls surrounded by gardens similar to the ordinary German beer-gardens. . . . We visited these establishments one after the other. . . . Near the door stood a few Gypsy women in shabby European costume, and a fat brigandish Gypsy man dressed in brown corduroy, with a black cloth cap on his head. . . . We consulted a Russian friend, an officer who had kindly guided us to these distant wastes.

"'Why do not the Bohémiennes sing? Why are there so few people here?'

"These questions seemed to strike him as being rather odd. The Bohémiennes, he told us, sing only when they are paid; we must hire a private room and make a bargain with the fat man in corduroy.

"'How much do they want?'

"'At least twenty-five roubles.'

"We made the bargain, hired a room, ordered refreshments, and soon half a dozen men with guitars, and the same number of women, all of them ugly beyond expectation, and dressed in ridiculous French costumes, entered, and took their

places at the other end of the room. They sang some melancholy Russian songs, then some passionate Tsygane songs, and then three of them danced with lascivious Oriental movements, while the others howled and ejaculated in truly savage fashion. But in order to induce them to execute this dance the guerdon had to be raised from twenty-five to a hundred roubles, and still we were looked upon as very small seigneurs. Certainly the songs and dances of these Bohémiennes have a wild and striking character—(on several subsequent occasions we had the opportunity of ascertaining this fact)—but from the point of view of art and intensity of expression these famous Moscow Gypsies cannot for a moment be compared with the Spaniards; and as for their vaunted beauty, it is a delusion and a snare. Not one in a hundred of them can pretend to good looks. The Tsyganes of Moscow are one of those colossal 'frauds' in which the East is so fertile. In any other country these people would exercise the profession of chair-menders, fortune-tellers, poultry thieves, and horse-dealers, for which the Gypsies have natural gifts; in Moscow, thanks to the *naïveté* of the new-fangled merchants and of the rich young men in general, they are able to spoil the Egyptians with less trouble and risk. No *fête* is considered complete without the Bohémiennes; no prodigality in money or jewellery can satisfy their rapacity; reserved, disdainful, inaccessible to the enterprises of gallantry, these Gypsy women drive the gilded youth of Russia wild with enthusiasm, and stir their torpid souls in much the same way as ardent spirits tickle their dull palates. The fascination which they exercise over the incoherent imagination of the Russians is exemplified by the case of a Prince Galitzin, who in our own days bought from her tribe for more than 50,000 dollars the young Tsygane who became his wife and the mother of his children. This lady, now divorced from her husband, lives in the vast Galitzin Palace at Moscow, on the Moskwa Quay, and does not disdain to increase her handsome income by carrying on one of the largest pawnbroking businesses in the Russian Empire.

"After hearing the Bohémiennes, and after further questioning our Russian friend, we began to understand why these *cafés chantants* in the park are ordinarily so deserted, and why there is no regular public to speak of: they depend largely upon the support of the *jeunesse dorée*, and this gilded youth has a peculiar way of organising a pleasure party. A young seigneur or a young merchant will drive up to one of these establishments, accompanied by his friends, and hire the whole house. If there are other customers present, he will pay them to go away, or fight with them for the possession, if they prefer the latter course. Then he will hire the Bohémiennes, order champagne by the hundred bottles, and a feast copious enough for a company of giants. . . .

"The Bohémiennes of Moscow have been famous in Russia for their musical talent ever since their migration from the East and their settlement there in the fifteenth century. Like the Gypsies in Spain and other countries, they live in tribes under the rule of chiefs, and hold their wealth in common. A whole quarter of the town near the Zoological Gardens is occupied by their dwellings. The men employ their leisure in horse-dealing. From the beginning, too, the women seem to have fascinated the boyars and nobles; several marriages between Gypsy women and Muscovite gentlemen are recorded in the annals of the town, while in the course of centuries irregular intercourse has been so great that few of the modern Bohémiennes are of pure blood or of the true Tsygane type. Nowadays the craze is as strong as ever; every Muscovite of means has his favourite company of Bohémiennes, who, under the guard of their director and of the men of the tribe, are invited to the seigneur's *fêtes*, and profit by his wild generosity. It must, however, be said that the Russians themselves do not begin to appreciate the music of the Bohémiennes until they are wild with drink, which state they generally attain toward two or three o'clock in the morning. . . . On one occasion we were the guests of a Muscovite seigneur who had invited a party of ten to the Hermitage

Restaurant to supper, together with his favourite Bohémienne, who came, not professionally, but as a guest, accompanied by three other Bohémiennes, and, of course, by the inseparable tribesman as director and guardian. Such is the custom, and in such cases the Tsyganes would feel insulted if they were offered any fee—a delicacy which does not prevent them accepting presents in the form of rouble notes and jewellery. The Bohémiennes, it must be added, are poor eaters; their only preferences are cold sturgeon and *agourtsis*, or salted cucumbers, of which they consume enormous quantities; as for drink, anything and everything is welcome. Our dinner was copious and over-abundant, according to the Russian manner, and things went on merrily until two o'clock, when we and our host retired."—(Mr. Theodore Child, in "Holy Moscow," *Harper's Magazine*, September 1889.)

7.

A Modern Enchantress.

The following has been communicated to us by the Rev. J. Ffrench, of Clonegal, Ireland:—

"A short time since, a clergyman stopping at my house told me that some time ago, when he was assisting in the work of All Saints' parish, Derby, he had residing in the parish a Gypsy family named Boswell. One of the family was sick, and he found the greatest difficulty in getting into the house; and when he did get in the sick man told him that the sooner he cleared out of the house the better—if he came to talk about religion. In fact, it was only by most judicious management and by promising not to speak about religion till the sick man spoke of it first, that he was able to establish a footing in the house. But after a little time he got on quite friendly terms with the family. He then discovered that when any of the family were sick an old aunt came into the room and seemed to perform a kind of incantation over them. His description of her performance was very like what we read about Eastern Dervishes. She gradually worked herself into a species of frenzy, flinging her arms about and muttering a kind of incantation or prayer, until her voice ascended into a wild scream and descended again into a whisper as the frenzy passed away, and she was left lying exhausted and apparently in a fainting condition on the floor. When she arrived at this state she was immediately carried out of the sickroom by her relatives. This family of Boswell claimed the Gypsy Queen as a member of their family."

8.

A Gypsy Parallel.

The leader of a band of "Egyptians," who was hanged at the cross of Banff (Scotland) in the year 1700, is chiefly remembered by the circumstance that he played on his well-loved violin a celebrated "rant" at the foot of the gallows, immediately before his execution. The incident has been immortalised by Burns, and it has been referred to by various writers.[1]

With this may be compared a "Fac-simile of a woodcut in Michault's *Doctrinal du Temps Présent*, small folio, Goth., Bruges, about 1490," which Lacroix introduces in his *Manners, etc., during the Middle Ages*.[2] It is there styled "Hanging to Music," and is thus explained—"A minstrel condemned to the gallows obtained permission that one of his companions should accompany him to his execution, and

[1] See *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 107; also *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. iii., "Proceedings against the Egyptians at Banff: 1700."

[2] English translation: London, 1876, p. 425.

play his favourite instrument on the ladder of the gallows." In this case, as appears from the woodcut, the "favourite instrument" is the bagpipe. But both the bagpipe and the fiddle have been much associated with Gypsies.

Probably nothing is now known of this minstrel of 1490, but there is a close resemblance between the two incidents. If the execution of 1490 took place at Bruges, or, indeed, in any other part of Europe, there would have been nothing extraordinary if the hanged "minstrel" had been a Gypsy, like him of the year 1700. At any rate, the coincidence is worth pointing out.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

9.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE IRISH TINKERS AND THEIR LANGUAGE.

For the following interesting communication, received too late for incorporation with the facts stated in Note 4 (*ante*), but happily in time for insertion in this number, we are indebted to Mr. Ffrench, Clonegal. Mr. Ffrench writes thus:—

"I have at last found a tinker who was willing to allow himself to be 'interviewed,' in the person of a smart, intelligent young fellow. He tells me that there are two tribes of Gypsy folk in Ireland; the first are real Gypsies, and the second are what are called 'Gilly Goolies,' and are only touched on the Gypsies, *i.e.* have a strain of Gypsy blood in their veins, and follow the mode of life followed by the Gypsies. He tells me that these people speak a language of their own. He knows of no language called 'Shelta,' but he says there is the tin-men's 'cant,' which he speaks, and which they speak among themselves. He allowed me to write down a number of the words, and I found a difficulty in doing so, as the pronunciation is very soft and liquid, and I am not sure that I always succeeded in rendering them all quite correctly. However, I went as near the words as I could. I trust the enclosed will be of some use to you in your investigations."

Mr. Ffrench's list is given below; and in parallel columns are the corresponding words in Mr. Leland's *Gypsies*, in the Tiree list, in a list of Mr. Crofton's which appeared in *The Academy* of December 18, 1886, and in a list contributed by Mr. T. W. Norwood to *The Academy* of January 1, 1887:—

MR. FFRENCH.	MR. LELAND.	TIREE LIST.	MR. CROFTON.	MR. NORWOOD.
Fien, or *Feen*, a man.	...	...	...	...
Bioer, or *Biuoer*, a woman.	*Bewer*, a female thief (p. 203). *Bewr*, woman (pp. 358 and 368).	*Beor*, a woman.	*Beör*, married woman.	...
Goyan, a child.	*Gothlin*, or *goch'thlin*, child (p. 358). *Gothni*, *gachlin*, child (p. 368).	...	...	...
Lackeen, a girl.	*Lárkin*, girl (p. 359). *Leicheen*, girl (p. 364).	...	*Lackan*, girl.	...
Keen, a house.	*Kiéna*, house (pp. 365 and 370).	*Cian* (applied to tent, house, and cottage).	*Kin*, house.	*Kain*, a house.
Curragh, a horse.	...	...	...	...
Mouge, a pig.	*Muogh*, pig (p. 364).	...	...	...
Gillamese, boots.	*Gullemnocks* (p. 364) / *Gullemnoch* (p. 365) shoes.	...	...	...
Rishpah, trousers.	*Réspes*, trousers (p. 364).	...	...	...
Rawg, a car.	*Rawg*, wagon (p. 365).	...	...	...
Gath, whisky.	...	...	...	...
Lush, porter.	...	...	..	...
Crop, money.	...	...	...	...
Gassel, a donkey.	...	...	...	...
Nutha, a hat.	...	...	...	...
Griffin, a coat.	...	...	...	...
Millthogue, a shirt.	*Mélthog*, inner shirt (p. 364).	...	...	*Mill-togs*, shirt.

The above columns clearly show that although Mr. Ffrench's tinker knows nothing of the *name* "Shelta," yet his "Tin-men's Cant" is really one with Mr. Leland's "Shelta, the Tinkers' Talk." It may be noted that Mr. Norwood also declares his ignorance of the name "Shelta," and that Mr. Crofton speaks of the language so named as being "well known to Gypsies as 'Mumpers' talk.'" But the title (or titles) given to the language is a matter of secondary importance. What really is important is the unmistakable fact that a language—vaguely connected with Romanes and Gaelic, but certainly neither Romanes nor Gaelic—exists among the tinkers and "mumpers" of the British Islands (not to mention newer countries). The words quoted in our pages are few enough, yet they serve to show how widespread the language is, for they have been gathered from (1) a tinker of south-eastern Ireland; (2) a tramp at Aberystwith;[1] (3) an Irish tinker at Philadelphia, U.S.; (4) a tinker child in the island of Tiree, Argyllshire; (5) a lace-hawker at Southport; (6) an English Gypsy, and, in the case of Mr. Norwood's list, from various English Gypsies apparently. Some of the people familiar with this language are also familiar with Gaelic: others, again, know nothing at all of Gaelic. Many of them appear to know Romanes: according to Mr. Leland (*The Gypsies*, p. v) *all* of them do. It is, however, too early to assign any definite position to this language. That may well be postponed until we have largely increased our knowledge of it; as it is hoped we shall do with the co-operation of the members of this Society.

[1] Mr. Leland obtained one example of "bewer" in the same neighbourhood, but from a different source: an elderly female tramp who applied it to herself.

NOTICE.—As the earlier numbers of the *Journal* are now very scarce—of No. 1, in fact, there being no more than five copies remaining—it has been found necessary to increase the price of Vol. I. to £2. The price of No. 1 of Vol. II., which contains the reprint of Callot's "Bohemians," is 7s. 6d. to Non-Members.

Members are reminded that their Subscriptions for the year 1890-1891 *are now payable.*

All Contributions must be legibly written on one side only of the paper, must bear the sender's name and address, though not necessarily for publication, and must be sent to DAVID MACRITCHIE, Esq., 4 Archibald Place Edinburgh.

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Contents.

PAGE
I. THE *HEIDENS* OF THE NETHERLANDS. By Professor M. J. DE GOEJE, ... 129
II. NOTES ON THE GYPSIES OF NORTH-WESTERN BOHEMIA. By Professor RUDOLF VON SOWA, ... 138
III. THE VAMPIRE: A ROUMANIAN GYPSY STORY. By FRANCIS HINDES GROOME, ... 142
IV. GYPSY GRAMMAR BY THE ARCHDUKE JOSEF, 1888. By Professor EMIL THEWREWK DE PONOR, . 148
V. KOUNAVINE'S *MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF THE GYPSIES*. By Dr. A. ELYSSEEFF. (*Concluded*), ... 161
VI. SCOTTISH GYPSIES UNDER THE STEWARTS. By DAVID MACRITCHIE, ... 173
VII. SLOVAK-GYPSY VOCABULARY (*L.—M*). By Professor RUDOLF VON SOWA, ... 181
VIII. REVIEW OF MR. GROOME'S ARTICLE 'GYPSIES' IN *CHAMBERS'S ENCYCLOPÆDIA*. By Professor JULIUS EGGELING, ... 186
NOTES AND QUERIES, ... 191

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JOURNAL OF THE

GYPSY LORE

SOCIETY.

VOL. II. JULY 1890. No. 3

I.—THE *HEIDENS* OF THE NETHERLANDS.[1]

IN the year 1417, a peculiar people, brown in complexion, attired in strange and variegated garments, and going in bands of about a hundred men, with women and children, crossed the eastern frontier of Germany. The leaders styled themselves duke, count, or baron, even sometimes king, and recounted that they were exiles, driven on account of their Christian faith from a then as now unknown country, called Little Egypt. Occasionally they pretended that the Pope had imposed on them a penance to wander for seven years. They showed letters from the Emperor Sigismond, and sometimes from the Pope, and other reigning sovereigns. Respect for these letters and pity for their sad condition provided a good reception for them wherever they came. In 1420, at Deventer, the first town in our country where they appeared, they were bounteously entertained and well cared for, as also in other places during the few years immediately following. But this attitude towards them was soon altered. The continual repetition of the visits made the entertainment less lavish, and the gifts smaller. The guests began to supply their wants after an illegal

[1] This essay is a translation, by permission of the author, from "De Heidens of Zigeuners; door M. J. de Goeje. Overgedrukt uit 'Eigen Haard,' 1876, No. 8."

fashion: here and there people began to buy off their visits. In the closing years of the fifteenth century, several decrees were promulgated in Germany against the Zigeuners, wherein they were specially accused of being spies in the service of the Turks; and in 1526 an edict was also issued in our country by the Emperor Charles v., prohibiting the Heathens or Egyptians (*Heidenen of Egyptenaars*), from wandering up and down, under pain of severe penalties. This was the first of a long series of proclamations and decrees issued in the various towns and districts, which, taken together, form one of the most remarkable contributions towards denoting the semi-anarchical condition of our country during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that then was accomplished, by united effort, what had vainly been attempted for more than two centuries—the complete banishment of this people from the territory of the United Provinces.

The accusations brought against the *Heidens* are begging, accompanied often by threats and sometimes by force. They overrun the country as tinkers, scissors-grinders, pedlars, quacks (*kwakzalvers*), and also more especially as acrobats and ballad-singers, often culpable of petty thefts, the practice of witchcraft (*wicherie*), and even daring to "look into the hands of young people, and to foretell future events." But besides this, all kinds of riff-raff associate themselves with them, and, either along with them, or acting under their name, practise highway robbery. It is seen from several judicial sentences which have been preserved that the offender had only pretended to be a *Heiden*, but was actually born from Christian parents in this country. In the same way the Zigeuners in Germany have often had the evil deeds of others laid to their account.

Whence came these people, and how is it possible that they, being scattered through so many countries, have nevertheless preserved their nationality? For they are not like the Jews, who have a grand history behind them, before them an ideal, and are kept together by the bond of a common religion. The Gypsies have no history—that is to say, they have not any, or, at least, only very obscure, reminiscences of their former adventures; they have no conception of a happiness in the future, which together they try to realise. Scarcely any trace of religion is discoverable amongst them. It is only their language that unites them, and it alone makes us acquainted with their origin, and a portion of their history.

A careful examination of the Gypsy language, the honour of which is specially due to Professor Pott of Leipzig, for the first time threw

some light into the darkness surrounding their origin. It was seen that their speech was very closely related to the languages of Hindustan. Excluding the name by which they usually call themselves, Rom or Romnitchel, signifying *man*, they have for themselves the name Sindi (or Sinti), which preserves the memory of their former fatherland, Sind (India). Moreover, one of the names which the Gypsies bear in Damascus to this day is that of a great tribe living on the Indus—the Jats. An Arabian historian and a Persian poet have preserved to us the information that a Persian king, in the fifth century of our era, brought 12,000 musicians from India to his country; these people are called Jats by the Arabs and by the poet Looris, the name given in Persia to the Gypsies even at the present day. Lastly, travellers found a striking likeness between the Jats of India and the Gypsies. Thus one had been enabled to fix their fatherland with considerable certainty: but the question, when and how had they come thence into Europe, remained yet unanswered. This gap has recently been filled up, in some measure, from the Arabian historians.

During the prime of the Sassanides various Jat families were repeatedly conveyed from India to the west. We have seen how that people were made to supply musicians. There were, moreover, in the Persian army regiments of soldiers formed from them and from neighbouring tribes, and many families were placed as colonists in the marsh-lands of the Euphrates and Tigris. The extent of their number cannot be estimated, but it certainly was not small. For, indeed, the first khalif of the Omayades, Moâwia, found it necessary in 669 or 670 to convey several families from Basra to Antioch and other seaports of Syria.

About the year 710, a deportation of Jats on a large scale took place, with the twofold object of diminishing the turbulent population of the Indus Valley, and of peopling the marsh-lands of the Tigris. The herds of the Jats consisted chiefly of buffaloes, the only kind of cattle that can thrive in marshy country, and along with the families came also their buffaloes. One can form an approximate idea of the extent of the deportation from the fact that of the buffaloes which were then brought to Kaskar on the Tigris 8000 were shortly after conveyed along with their Jat owners to Antioch and Al-Maççiça, on the frontier of the Byzantine Empire, although the principal colony yet remained at Kaskar.

A century after their settlement there this colony caused great anxiety to the Khalif of Baghdad. Whereas formerly, says an

Arabian chronicler, they were only troublesome to travellers and passing ships, by reason of their begging and petty thieving, they had now the audacity to occupy the highways by land and water, to empty the imperial storehouses, and to plunder ships and caravans. By the year 820 one no longer dared to pass through their territory, and vessels laden for Baghdad had to remain lying at Basra. Several efforts to subdue them proved futile; the Jats became more insolent still, and it was not till 834 that the khalif succeeded, after the greatest effort, in forcing them to submit, and then only on the condition that they were to retain their lives and property. It then appeared that their entire number amounted to 27,000, of whom 12,000 were men capable of bearing arms. In their national costume, and with their trumpets, the Jats were now conveyed to Baghdad, and thence to Ainzarba, on the northern frontier of Syria. They did not remain long here. In 855 the Byzantines made an attack on this town, with the result that they made themselves masters of all the captive Jats, whom, along with their women, children, buffaloes and cows, they conveyed into their territory.

Thus did the first bands of Gypsies come into the Greek empire, and they were probably afterwards followed by their compatriots of former deportations, and by wandering Gypsy families such as were roaming about the East at an early period, as many of them continue to do at the present day. No mention is anywhere made of later deportations from India. There remains, however, a long interval of time, from 855 to 1417, the date when the first Gypsies advanced into Germany, with regard to which we know very little. But now that it is once known that during this period they came by degrees through Asia Minor into Europe, more will no doubt be found out. The Byzantine writers speak more than once about the Athingani, who, it is true, are usually represented as an heretical sect, but who, nevertheless, do not perhaps differ from the Atsingani, as the Gypsies are called by the Greeks. This has yet to be investigated. In the fourteenth century they had been already for a long time in Wallachia in the condition of slaves, as they are even now. At any rate, in 1845, two hundred Gypsy families were sold at Bucharest by public auction, the most of them being locksmiths (*slotenmakers*), goldsmiths, shoemakers, musicians, and farm-labourers. Considering that they came into the Byzantine Empire as captives of war, their original condition in Asia Minor and Europe was no doubt that of slavery, out of which they have gradually to some extent emancipated themselves by means of their talents and cunning. All who have

made a close acquaintanceship with the Gypsies find in their character the traces of former oppression. The warlike tendency is seldom encountered in a Gypsy.

What has been communicated by the Arabic literature with regard to the origin of this people is confirmed in a remarkable manner by their language. All the Gypsy dialects of Europe have a great number of Greek words in common, whence it unquestionably follows that all the Gypsies lived for a time on Greek soil. But, further, one finds in all of them a certain number of Arabic words, whence it again follows that they have lived together in an Arabian country. And this must have preceded their stay in the Byzantine Empire, as this is not only of itself probable, but it is confirmed by the fact that the number of Arabic words is far smaller than that of Greek words.—That the number of Gypsies has increased so marvellously since the year 855 may be ascribed to various causes. In the first place, these people are extremely prolific. Every Gypsy couple has usually a great many children, who have followed each other as quickly as the laws of nature will permit. Thus it is that those best acquainted with the Gypsies scarcely credit the accusation of child-stealing so often brought against them. The mortality amongst their children is very small. To these sons of Nature sickness is almost unknown. Most of them die of *marasmus senilis*. Further, from the earliest times all those outcasts who did not feel themselves at home in ordinary society, or who were not tolerated in it, have joined themselves to the Gypsies. In the *Heidenprocessen* (cases against Gypsies) of our country, for example, mention is repeatedly made of "pretended Gypsies" ("*gewaande Heidenen*"), who, dressed like Egyptians, wandered about the country either with these people or on their own account.

The Gypsies are very facile in learning to speak foreign languages. With equal ease they assume one form or another of religion, becoming Mohammedans from Christians, Roman Catholics from Greek Catholics, and *vice versa*. The Protestants, whom they call "thick-heads" (*dikkoppen*), have very little attraction for them. They are most industrious in the performance of those religious duties by which some profit is to be gained. Thus they like to have their children baptized several times for the sake of the present from the godfather, who, of course, never belongs to their nation. In reality they are perfectly indifferent as regards religion. I have said above that there is almost no trace of religion among them. They have a name for the Deity, who, however, is regarded principally as the

worker of evil, and scolded in cases of misfortune, and a name for the devil, a tormenting spirit of lower rank. But of religious rites there is nothing to be found amongst them, not even upon their only great festival, which they celebrate in spring. They reverence the graves of their dead, and the oath "by the dead" is sacred; but this is not associated with any idea of immortality. They have also little superstition, except that they set a value upon omens, such as meeting a magpie, which they call "the bird of strife," as he announces quarrelling and fighting. But they do not themselves believe in the effect of all the arts by which they have always practised upon the superstitions of townsfolk and peasants. It is precisely this that enables them to practise the black art (*de zwarte kunst*) with calmness and deliberation, and consequently with excellent results for their purse. The limits of this treatise do not permit of any examples of the way in which the Gypsies managed to procure for themselves the reputation of possessing supernatural power. "With us in Germany," says Liebich, "the countryman gives to the Gypsy who knocks at his door whatever he wants, bread and bacon, milk and butter, meat and eggs, oats and hay, solely from the traditional fear that the Gypsy might perhaps bring sickness or disease upon his family, might bewitch his cattle, or even set 'the red cock' on his roof. For the same reason he always abstains from bringing a judicial complaint on account of theft or swindling which he has suffered at the hands of these people, —nay, he even helps the Gypsy to evade the investigations and prosecution of the police." No wonder that the cunning Gypsy fosters this superstitious fear, so doubly useful for him. This is the chief reason why he has remained unmolested for several years in a country where he had been judicially declared an outlaw. It is now about a century and a half since Gypsy bands were to be found in Holland and Friesland, and yet there still survives among the people of both provinces the belief that the call of the scissors-grinder, an occupation specially followed by Gypsies, betokens bad weather.

The Gypsies are not merely beggars. As a rule this is only a source of revenue together with that which their occupation proper procures. In Western Europe they only follow those occupations which a nomadic life permits. They do the simplest smith-work; they are kettle-menders and scissors-grinders; they make sieves, mousetraps, and cages; they are pedlars and ratcatchers; they have medicines for men and cattle; but above all they are acrobats and ballad-singers. Most of them have a taste and talent for music, and in that art some have even reached an advanced stage. As history

teaches, they have this gift even from ancient times, and it is not impossible that their name of Zigeuner properly signifies a musician.

The Gypsies seem indeed to have inherited the curse of Cain, to be wandering and roaming over the earth. They must ever be travelling and moving about, not only because circumstances compel them, but also because it is their passion. The Gypsies who have chosen fixed abodes, which is not a rare occurrence in the Turkish Empire, are despised by the others, and regarded as degenerate. This almost nowhere occurs among the Gypsies of Western Europe. To be locked up is therefore the most severe punishment for these people. Our forefathers understood this too, and the decree of the Justiciary Court of Holland of 1724, which commanded the establishing of workhouses for the *Heidens* and such-like people, "since there was no means by which they were more frightened away than through confinement in a workhouse," contributed more towards driving the Gypsies out of the country than all the other proclamations taken together.

The Gypsy considers himself nowhere bound by the social order. The laws and statutes maintaining this order are to him prosecutions and pests, which he tries to evade in every possible manner, and against which he holds falsehood, deceit, and falsification to be permissible self-defence. The punishment inflicted on him by society is therefore in no way degrading—quite the reverse. For him real punishments are those to which he is condemned by his own chief, and the worst of these is banishment from the brotherhood. For the Gypsies have a society of their own, towards which they consider themselves bound, as we do to ours. In Europe as well as in Asia they are divided into different groups, either according to the various trades (or guilds), or according to the special district (*landsmanschappen*). Each of these groups has its headman, who is chosen by the full-grown men for his lifetime, and who has almost unlimited jurisdiction over his people. Below him the oldest in rank in each family circle, after the patriarchal order, has the control of affairs and the management of the common treasury. To this one every member has strictly to submit himself. In this, however, the counsel of the Gypsy-mother, the oldest woman of the clan, has very great influence. It need scarcely be said that among these wanderers the moral law is pretty loose according to our notions. Yet no marriage is concluded without the consent of the chief, and adultery is a crime which is very severely punished.

When we regard the life and the doings of the Gypsies, there is reason enough not only for our pity, but also for our sympathy;

that is to say, when we read about them, or encounter a small band at most. Because a closer association with them soon causes the latter feeling to vanish, and the first also. It is to a certain extent like the case of the Redskins in America. In the Eastern States, where they are rarely seen, and where a great deal is read about them, the feeling towards them is as full of friendliness as in the Far West it is full of anger and dislike. For the country-folk and the townspeople the Gypsies are troublesome and disagreeable visitors, and the authorities find them a perfect plague to the country. Moreover, they exercise a very injurious influence on the population. Superstition is fostered and cherished by them, and their example has seduced many into leading a vagabond life. We Netherlanders may therefore be glad that we are delivered from their company. None of their bands have shown themselves in our country since 1761, unless from time to time a small troop, soon to be again conveyed to the frontier, through the care and attention of the police.

Are there still traces of their stay in our country? Our compatriot, Mr. Dirks, who wrote in 1850 a full and precise account of the sojourn of the Gypsies in the Northern Netherlands (*Memoirs of the Provincial Society of Utrecht, XV.*), believes that their descendants yet exist here and there, as on the frontier between Germany and Gelderland, in three villages of North Brabant, and in some places in Overysel, Groningen, and Friesland, while he believes that among the so-called *polderjongens* (dredgers of canals), as well as among the wandering scissors-grinders and tinkers (kettle-menders), there is still many a descendant of the *Heidens.* The memory of their sojourn here is even yet preserved by a couple of proverbs: "He makes as much noise as a *Heiden,*" and "He is as black as a *Heiden.*" I venture to add thereto the conjecture that we have obtained two words from their language—*bengel,* which signifies "devil" in Gypsy (and which the Dutch use as an equivalent of "rascal" or "bad boy"), and *bare duivel,* from the Gypsy *baro dewel* (great God), which they have constantly in their mouths. According to the same authority, statements are yet current with regard to their magic art. To this may be added the statement above made in relation to the scissors-grinders. With regard to the name which the Gypsies used to bear in this country, besides that of Egyptians, I have once heard the idea mooted that the name must have been given to them on account of their customary residence on the heath (*heide*). With Mr. Dirks, however, I believe that the word must be regarded in its usual signification; that is to say, that they are so called because they came

from a Heathen-land (*Heidenland*), namely, that of the Mohammedans, who were likewise called Heathens. The difference in meaning assumed by modern grammars between *Heidens* (meaning Gypsies) and *Heidenen* (Heathens or Pagans) is of recent date. In the old proclamations the Gypsies are generally called *Heidenen*.[1]

M. J. DE GOEJE.

[It is not out of place to quote here the discussion which took place at the meeting of the *Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen* of Amsterdam, held on 11th January 1875, after the reading of Professor de Goeje's "Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Zigeuners," a treatise now well-known to Gypsiologists. The Academy's report, after giving a synopsis of this treatise (which deals at length with the Jat migrations touched upon in the foregoing pages),[2] then states that it gave rise to the following remarks:—

"Mr. Kern confirms the statement that the language of the Gypsies is closely related to the ancient Prakrit. The language of the Hindus (Hindi) is nearly six centuries old; that of the Gypsies

[1] The effect of this announcement by Professor de Goeje is important. Because, if the term *Heiden* denoted a Gypsy in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, it seems very unreasonable to say decisively that the same term, used by the same nationality, during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, did *not* denote a Gypsy. The ambiguity attaching to this name of *Heiden* has already been pointed out by Monsieur Bataillard (in the latest portion of his article on the "Immigration," vol. ii. of our Journal, p. 27 *n.*, and p. 38); and he had previously observed (vol. i. p. 193 *n.*): "I persist in thinking that the existence of the Gypsies in Poland, and perhaps even in Northern Lithuania, is more remote than is generally admitted." Mr. Dirks (*Heidens of Egyptiërs*: Utrecht, 1850, pp. 39-41) has referred, as so industrious a student could not fail to do, to the twofold—if it be twofold—use of this term; but his decision is, that the people spoken of as *Heidens* at dates prior to the assumed first appearance of Gypsies in the Netherlands, were "Livonian Heathens, that is, those Pagans who dwelt in Prussia and Livonia, and who do not stand in any relation to the Gypsies." Mr. Dirks makes this statement, with his reasons therefor, in opposition to the assumption of his fellow-countryman, Van Hasselt, who, both in his "Antiquities of Guelderland" (*Geldersche Oudheden*), and in his "Materials for a Guelderland History of the Heathens" (*Stof voor eene Geldersche Historie der Heidenen*), takes for granted that there was no special difference between one kind of "Heiden" and another. Certainly, the fact that Van Hasselt, in the first part of his "Antiquities of Guelderland" (No. LXII., pp. 559-578), has "a score of extracts from the accounts of the stewards of that province, extending from 1392-1424, besides a *reces* of the Landsdag of 2d July 1539, in all which matters relating to the Heathens were mentioned," is a fact which requires very close examination. No impartial reader would see any reason for assuming that the "Heathens" which those accounts speak of in 1392-1420 were in any degree different from those which the same accounts mention in 1420-1424. In short, the "Heathen" history of this period and locality requires to be very fully examined. Mr. Dirks' own work, and the references which he gives, afford ample material to any student familiar with the Dutch language, and interested in the history of the Gypsies, to study the matter thoroughly; and we venture to express the hope that such work will soon be undertaken.—[ED.]

[2] An English translation of Professor de Goeje's *Bijdrage* is given at pp. 1-59 of *The Gypsies of India*, by D. MacRitchie: London, 1886.

who have come from the North-West of India is much older, and probably ascends to the year 500 A.D. To the remark of Mr. de Goeje that the Gypsies call themselves Romni—that is, *men*—Mr. Kern adds the name Kalorom, which is also used by them, and which signifies *black men.*" After an exchange of some observations on a point casually raised by Mr. de Goeje, but not applicable to Gypsies, "Mr. Moll doubts whether the name of Zigeuners is old in this country, and believes that they were formerly always called *Heidens.*[1] In North Brabant he heard them also called *heikens-mannekes.*

"Mr. Leemans asks whether the Gypsies have come into Europe through Greece, or by the way of Egypt, as the names Gitanos and Gypsies seem to indicate. Moreover, the name of their ships, *bârî*, is Egyptian, and other words mentioned have an Egyptian sound.

"Mr. de Goeje thanks Mr. Kern for his agreement with his views, . . . assents to the statement that the Gypsies were here formerly called heathens, and does not venture to determine whether a portion of the people has come into Europe by Egypt, but maintains that the similarity of names between them and the Egyptians is accidental, as those names are of Indian origin.

"Mr. Leemans thinks that an anthropological investigation on the subject of Gypsy skulls is desirable, upon which Mr. Kern states that there is such a great similarity between Gypsies and Hindus that the origin of the Gypsies from India requires no further proof."]

II.—NOTES ON THE GYPSIES OF NORTH-WESTERN BOHEMIA.

WHEN seeking information with regard to the Gypsies living in North-Western Bohemia, I learned from a trustworthy friend that there are settled Gypsies in the districts of Brüx (viz. in the village of Wiesa), Saaz (in Hraidisch), Leitmeritz (in Auscha, Petersburg, Podersam, and other localities). "Settled," when spoken of Gypsies, means only that these are ascribed to a certain community, and are *sometimes* to be found there. I did not visit the Gypsies in the district of Leitmeritz; in Hraidisch I met with an old woman only, who lives with some little children in a small rather ruinous hut outside the village. The family she belongs to is called *Herr-*

[1] It will be observed, however, that Professor de Goeje's essay of 1876 (here reproduced) makes mention of an edict of 1526 which speaks of them as "Heathens *or Egyptians*" (*Heidenen of Egyptenaars*).

mann. There are many Gypsies in Wiesa. The magistrate of that village told me that about eighty years ago a Gypsy man who called himself *Klimt* was naturalised there; he married a Gypsy woman, and their descendants in the course of time formed families, all of which bear the common name Klimt. They belong, so far as regards dialect, to the German Gypsy tribe, and often wander through Saxony; their passports allow them to travel through Germany with the exception of Bavaria. They are a fine race, especially their girls and women; their complexion is more grey than brown, and differs thus from that of the Moravian and Hungarian Gypsies. Some children are fair-haired, and the colour of their skin does not differ remarkably from that of Non-Gypsies. Those Gypsies occupy themselves for the most part with horse-dealing, but some are wandering musicians; one is, if I understood rightly, an equestrian performer. I had not the impression that they are poor, for they, at least the men, are well dressed, and did not seem at all eager for small coin; the children, of course, begged on the roads like those of all other Gypsies. The men themselves said that they "mostly" have wherewithal to live. It need hardly be remarked that those people to whom a small house in the village has been granted do not live in that house, but almost always on the street, where also are their horses and carriages. They were more communicative than other Gypsies on the subject of their manners and customs. Much of what they said confirmed Liebich's observations, but some statements were new to me. They cause their children to be baptized, and assert that they know how to pray; in no case are they sent to school,[1] so that in the whole Gypsy company there is only one man who can write, and he had learnt that in recent years. All the men confessed that they only as an exception (when compelled by the magistrate) go through a religious nuptial ceremony.[2] "We marry," they say, "but in Rommany." The husband has the right of repudiating his wife when he becomes tired of her:[3] in such a case she must take her children with her. Sometimes, also, the wife leaves her husband. A young woman said to me in her husband's presence: "*Kan' m'r mānush xoy'rĕla man, lā me m'r chāven u' jā mang*"—(When my husband makes me angry, then I shall take my children and go away!) If the wife has left her husband against his will and joined another man, then a fight (*kūr'pen*) arises between the two families to which

[1] Except in Hraidisch, where the Gypsy family is rather Germanised.

[2] Liebich relates in his book, *Die Zigeuner in ihrem Wesen und in ihrer Sprache*, p. 116 f., that the other Gypsies of the same tribe have certain nuptial ceremonies.

[3] Cf. Liebich, p. 49 f.

the men belong. The conjugal life is not without quarrels, as they say openly; with regard to the glib tongues and the energy of the Gypsy women I for my part have not the slightest doubt. Like all other Gypsies, they treat their children well so long as they are small. The mother sings to them monotonous songs to lull them asleep; as a specimen I reproduce the following verses:—

Hāya grēla mīri Shleya[1]
Grēla grēla mīri Shleya
Hāya la grēli mīri Shleya
Grēla anu mīri shukĕr Shleyerla!
Grēla mīri tikni chai
Mīri shukĕr Shleya grēla, etc.

"My Ann will sleep, she will sleep, my Anna, (she) will fall asleep, my fine little Anna, my little girl will sleep, my fine Anna will sleep," and so on

The men are fond of drinking. When they begin to drink, one lifts his glass towards the other and says, *Jives* (live!); the answer is, *Bes baxtĕlo* (be happy!). An old Gypsy woman said they generally finish their meetings (*tsilŏ*) with fighting. The following song, which she sang to me, agrees with what she said:—

Ap o tsīlo me veyóm
Tel o zen'lo ruk me beshtyóm
Tel o zen'lo ruk me beshtyóm
Ap o tsīlo me veyóm.
Yake mātes man piyóm
Me piyóm m'r sintentça—
Yap-o tsīlo me veyóm
Yake mātes man piyóm
Yake mātes me veyóm.
Mīri hārfa me leyóm
Mīri hārfa me leyóm
Yake mātes man piyóm
Yake mātes me veyóm
Yake man me kūrdyóm
Yake har man kūrdyóm
O bāro chinepen man yeyén.
Yake har man deyén
Mīri rómni man thodyás
Ye pārno diklo anĕ lakro vast
Ap o pārni yoi geyás
Lak'r chāve rovēnās
Yoi kūrlās pesk'r vast ket'né.

"I went to the meeting, I sat down under a green tree, I went to the meeting. When I made myself drunken, when I became drunk I seized my harp, I seized my harp, when I made myself drunken, when I became drunk, when I had a fight, when I had a fight, they gave (?) me a severe beating; when they had given it to me, my wife washed me (holding) a white kerchief in her hand, she went . . . ?; her children wept, she wrung her hands."

[1] Liebich, l. c. p. 89af. and Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, ii. 491, offer a number of other names peculiar to the German Gypsies.

Like other Gypsies they have peculiar customs. Thus they stated that when a woman's gown has brushed lightly against a pot, in passing, they pour out the contents of the pot.[1] For what reason they do so they could not or would not say. When they find a frog or a toad at their camping-ground they leave that place.[2] When I asked why they did so, I obtained the somewhat insufficient answer: *Wir sind sehr heiklig* (We are very squeamish). But the country people say that those Gypsies are not so "*heiklig*" as to vermin.

When they are travelling, and wish to indicate to other Gypsies what road they have taken, they put together some stones in a certain order.[3] They assured me that they have no chief nor laws, but confirmed the statement that their comrades in Germany have a sort of governor, a *chachopaskĕro rom.*[4] For some dishonest acts (I do not know for which) a Gypsy can be put under the ban (*prās'pen*).[5] A proscribed man (*prāstlo*) dare not wear green clothes.[6]

I shall add that in general they are more agreeable and not less communicative with strangers than other Gypsies; also that at first they freely imparted their language to me without any mistrust; it was only their want of patience that made it somewhat difficult to obtain words and phrases from them. But the last day, when I conversed with them, a Gypsy woman from Alsace stirred them up, and with much abuse accused them of "selling their nation" for a trifle of money; whereupon they became reticent, and endeavoured to impose conditions for further information. They speak fast and with vivacity, and know many songs, which they sing in an agreeable manner.[7] The words of these songs are mostly rather silly; thus, I heard one of this sort, which begins as follows:—

Le koi rup'ni roi,
Le koi rup'ni gābla
Chib le tsim'rdi (?) *māseskri*
M'r chāve te xan mās.

"Take the silver-spoon, take the silver-fork;
—? that my children may eat meat."

I was not able to catch every word of this song, and I cannot therefore reproduce the whole text. The adults speak the German

1 Cf. Liebich, p. 95.
2 The same is said of the Moravian Gypsies.
3 Cf. Liebich, p. 96.
4 Liebich, pp. 40 and 47, says that a true Gypsy, or a man who, having been proscribed, is declared again to be honest, is called *tchatchopaskĕro rom;* but cf. p. 43, where the Gypsy chief is called *o baridir tschatschopaskero.*
5 Cf. Liebich, p. 40.
6 Cf. Liebich, pp. 51 and 83.
7 As I am not myself musical, I can say nothing about the melodies of these songs.

language fluently, the younger ones in such a manner that one can observe that it is not their mother-tongue.

Other Gypsies, perhaps also those who speak the Bohemian-Gypsy dialect, are called by them "Hungarians," and they say that their customs are quite different, and that they can hardly understand their speech. Once I found them amusing themselves with a game which they said was of "Hungarian" origin. They put two rather large stones on the road at a distance of about fifteen or twenty paces from one another, and standing by one of them they tried to hit the other with stones, every hit counting as ten. When they hit the stone they take their place by it and aim at the other. I regret that I did not note the name which they give to this game. I never observed a similar one with Moravian or Slovak Gypsies, nor have I heard of such.

RUDOLF VON SOWA.

III.—THE VAMPIRE.

A ROUMANIAN GYPSY STORY.

THIS Story is No. 1 in Dr. Barbu Constantinescu's *Probe de Limba si Literatura Tsiganilor din Romãnia* (Bucharest, 1878), from which valuable collection I have already furnished some translations in earlier numbers of our Journal. In his *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Rom-Sprache* (Vienna, 1869), five stories in the original Rómani, with an interlinear German translation, taken down from the recitation of a Hungarian-Gypsy soldier, Dr. Friedrich Müller furnishes a variant for the first half in the first half of his No. 4 ("The Holy Maid and the Soldier"), and for the second half in the second half of his No. 2, whose first half is a variant of Grimm's No. 40 ("The Robber Bridegroom"). Non-Gypsy variants occur in Ralston's *Russian Folk-tales* (1873, "The Fiend," pp. 10-17), and in Dr. F. Krauss's *Sagen und Märchen der Sudslaven* (Leip. 2 vols. 1883-84; No. 70, vol. i. p. 293, a story collected by Professor Valjavec of Varazdin, at a place in Croatia called Imbriovec. Hahn's "Lemonitza" (No. 66, vol. ii. p. 27), also offers several analogies).

THERE was an old woman in a village. And grown-up maidens met and span, and made a "bee" (*kláka*).[1] And the young sparks

[1] "*Claca* signifies a species of assembly very popular in Wallachia. If any family has some particular work to do on any particular account, if a relative is setting out for a long journey, or what not, they invite the neighbourhood to come and work for them. When the work is completed there is high glee, singing and dancing, and story-telling."—Grenville-Murray's *Doine; or, Songs and Legends of Roumania* (Lond. 1854), p. 109 n.

came, and laid hold of the girls, and pulled them about (*trăntĭnas-len*), and kissed them. But one of them had no sweetheart to lay hold of her and kiss her. And she was a big girl, the daughter of wealthy peasants, but no one came near her three whole days. And she looked at the big girls, her equals. And no one troubled himself with her. Yet she was a pretty girl, a prettier was not to be found. Then came a fine young spark (*ek flăkáu sukár*), and took her in his arms and kissed her, and stayed with her till the cock crowed. And when the cock crowed at dawn he departed. The old woman saw he had cock's feet.[1] And she kept looking at the lad's feet, and she said, "Nita, did you see anything?" "I didn't notice." "Then, didn't I see he had cock's feet?" "Let be, mother, I didn't see it."

And the girl went home and slept, and arose and went off to the spinning, where many more girls were holding a "bee." And the young sparks came, and took each one his sweetheart. And they kissed them, and stayed awhile, and went home. And the girl's handsome young spark came, and took her in his arms and kissed her, and pulled her about, and stayed with her till midnight. And the cock began to crow. The young spark heard the cock crowing, and departed. What said the old woman who was in the hut, "Nita, did you notice that he had horse's feet?" "And if he had, I didn't see." Then the girl departed to her home.

And she slept, and arose in the morning, and did her work that she had to do. And night came, and she took her spindle, and went to the old woman in the hut. And the other girls came, and the young sparks came, and each laid hold of his sweetheart. But the pretty girl looks at them. Then the young sparks gave over, and departed home. And only the girl remained neither a long time nor a short time (*Thai acili numai e rakli nici but, nici tira*). Then came the girl's young spark. Then what will the girl do? She took heed, and stuck a needle and thread in his back (*nakhadás ande-l dumé léski ek su thavésa*). And he departed when the cock crew, and she knew not where he had gone to.

Then the girl arose in the morning, and took the thread, and followed up the thread, and saw him in a grave where he sat (*kai besélas ande buleate*). Then the girl trembled, and went back home. At night the young spark that was in the grave came to the old woman's hut, and saw that the girl was not there. He asked the old woman, "Where's Nita?" "She has not come." Then he went to Nita's house, where she lived, and called "Nita, are you at home?" Nita

[1] In Wlislocki, p. 104 *note*, the devil has a duck's foot.

answered. "Tell me what you saw when you came to the church. For if you don't tell me, I will kill your father." "I didn't see anything." Then he looked, and he killed her father, and departed to his grave. Next night he came back. "Nita, tell me what you saw." "I didn't see anything." "Tell me, or I will kill your mother, as I killed your father. Tell me what you saw." "I didn't see anything." Then he killed her mother, and departed to his grave.

Then the girl arose in the morning. And she had twelve servants. And she said to them: "See, I have much money, and many oxen, and many sheep; and they shall come to the twelve of you, as a gift, for I shall die to-night; and it will fare ill with you if you bury me not in the wood, at the foot of an apple-tree." At night came the young spark from the grave, and asked: "Nita, are you at home?" "I am." "Tell me, Nita, what you saw three days ago, or I will kill you, as I killed your parents." "I have nothing to tell you." Then he took and killed her. Then casting a look, he went to his grave. So the servants, when they arose in the morning, found Nita dead. The servants took her, and laid her out decently. (*Liné-la il slugi, thai gătisardé-la, sar trebul.*) They sat and made a hole in the wall, and passed her through the hole, and carried her, as she had bidden, and buried her in the forest by the apple-tree.

And half a year passed by, and a prince went to go to course hares with greyhounds and other dogs. And he went to hunt, and the hounds ranged the forest, and came to the maiden's grave. And a flower grew out of it, the like of which for beauty there was not in the whole kingdom. So the hounds came on her monument, where she was buried, and they began to bark, and scratched at the maiden's grave. Then the prince took and called the dogs with his horn, and the dogs came not. The prince said, "Go quickly thither." Four huntsmen arose and came, and saw the flower burning like a candle (*dikhté e lulughi, kai phabólas sar e mumeli*). They returned to the prince, and he asked them, "What is it?" "It is a flower, the like was never seen." Then the lad heard, and came to the maiden's grave, and saw the flower and plucked it. And he came home and showed it to his father and mother. Then he took and put it in a vase at his bed-head where he slept. Then the flower arose from the vase, and turned a somersault (*dá-pes pe serésti*, lit. "gave itself on the head"—the Romani formula almost invariably preceding every transformation), and became a full-grown maiden. And she took the lad and kissed him, and bit him and pulled him about, and slept with

him in her arms, and put her hand under his head.[1] And he knew it not. When the dawn came she became a flower again.

In the morning the lad rose up sick, and complained to his father and mother. "Mammy, my shoulders hurt me, and my head hurts me." His mother went and brought a wise woman (*romni drabarni*), and tended him. He asked for something to eat and drink. And he waited a bit, and went then to his business that he had to do. And he went home again at night. And he ate and drank and lay down on his couch, and sleep seized him. Then the flower arose and again became a full-grown maiden. And she took him again in her arms, and slept with him, and sat with him in her arms. And he slept. And she went back to the vase. And he arose, and his bones hurt him, and he told his mother and his father. Then his father took thought, and said to his wife: "It began with the coming of the flower. Something must be the matter (*trebúl te avél váreso*), for the boy is quite ill. Let us watch to-night, and post ourselves on one side, and see who comes to our son." Night came, and the prince arose, and laid himself in his bed to sleep. Then the maiden arose from the vase, and became there was never anything more fair, as burns the flame of a candle (*sar phaból e para la mumeleáki*). And his mother and his father, the king, saw the maiden, and laid hands on her. Then the prince arose out of his sleep, and saw the maiden that she was fair. Then he took her in his arms and kissed her, and lay down in his bed and slept till day.

And they made a marriage, and ate and drank. The folk marvelled, for a being so fair as that maiden was not to be found in all the realm. And he dwelt with her half a year, and she bore a golden boy,[2] two apples in his hand (*ek rakló somnakunó dui phabá ando vas lesko*). And it pleased the prince well. Then her old sweetheart heard it, the vampire who had made love to her, and had killed her. He arose and came to her and asked her, "Nita, tell me, what did you see me doing?" "I didn't see anything." "Tell me truly, or I will kill your child, your little boy, as I killed your father and mother. Tell me truly." "I have nothing to tell you." And he killed her boy. And she arose and carried him to the church and buried him. At night the vampire came again and asked her, "Tell me, Nita, what you saw?" "I didn't see anything." "Tell me, or I will kill the lord whom you have wedded." Then Nita arose and said, "It shall not happen that you kill my lord. God send you

[1] Ralston's version is at this point greatly inferior. The maiden arises to eat and drink merely, as also in the Hungarian-Gypsy variant.

[2] *Cf.* Hahn, ii. 293, "two *golden* children."

burst" (*Ni perel-pes, káste mundares minrá ras. Del o Del te pharos*). The vampire heard what Nita said, and burst. Ay, he died, and burst for very rage (*Vi mulō, vi pharilo holinátar*). In the morning Nita arose, and she saw the floor swimming two handsbreadth deep in blood. Then Nita commanded her father-in-law to take out the vampire's heart with all speed. Her father-in-law, the king, hearkened, and opened him, and took out his heart, and gave it into Nita's hand. And she went to the grave of her boy, and dug the boy up, applied the heart, and the boy arose. And Nita went to her father and to her mother, and anointed them with the blood, and they arose. Then, looking on them, Nita told all the trials she had borne, and what she had suffered at the hands of the vampire.

The word *čohanó*, which throughout I have rendered "vampire," is of course identical with Paspati's Turkish-Romani *tchovekhanó*, "revenant" or spectre, a word which, according to Miklosich (vii. 37), is of Armenian origin, and which, in other Gypsy dialects of Europe, means, according to its gender, "wizard" or "witch." This vampire story is the connecting-link between the two meanings, but whether the story itself is of Gypsy or non-Gypsy origin is a difficult question. As I mentioned in my preliminary note, we possess four versions of it—two of them Gypsy, viz. this from Roumania, and Fr. Müller's from Hungary; and two non-Gypsy, viz. Ralston's from Russia (what part not stated), and Krauss's from Croatia. Krauss's and Müller's versions are both much inferior to Ralston's and this Roumanian-Gypsy one; and of them, though Ralston's opens best, yet its close is decidedly inferior. But Mr. Ralston's story, it will probably be urged, is a typical Russian story, so must needs be of Russian origin. To this I answer, Irish-wise, with the question, How then did it travel to Croatia, to the Gypsies of Hungary and Roumania? That the Gypsies, with never a church, should make church bells, might seem unlikely, did we not know that at Edzell, in Forfarshire, there is a church bell that was cast by Gypsies in 1726. So Gypsy story-tellers may well have devised some stories for their auditors, not for themselves. And this story is probably theirs, who tell it best.

The merest glance at Mr. Ralston's well-known *Russian Folk-Tales*, or at Krauss's work, will be enough to show that these stories are absolutely identical, that the likeness between them is no chance one, but that there has been transmission—either the Gypsies have borrowed them from the Gentiles, or the Gentiles have borrowed them from the Gypsies. Prof. Fr. Müller's little pamphlet is less

accessible to the general folklorist than Ralston's and Krauss's collections, so I append a brief *résumé* of his two stories.

In No. 4 the Holy Maid will not marry. The devil creeps in at the window. "'Now, thou fair maiden, will thou come to me or no?' 'No'—this said the maiden—'to a dead one say I it, but to a living one no.'" He kills first her father, next her mother; lastly, threatens herself. She tells the gravedigger, "Bear me not over the door [this supplies a lacuna in the Roumanian-Gypsy version], but bury me in a grave under the threshold, and take me not out from there." From this point No. 4 drifts off into quite another story about a dove and a soldier.

No. 2. "Somewhere was, somewhere was not, in the seventy-seventh land, in a village, a Hungarian." Of his three daughters two get married. The third at last gets a sweetheart, who always comes to see her at midnight. Once she follows him to a cave in a forest, from which twelve robbers come out. She goes in. [No bird or old women, but] corpses, and she hides behind a cask. Lady brought in: hand chopped off, girl possesses herself of it, and escapes home. Wedding fixed. She tells soldiers, but not her father. Wedding. She relates dream. "And ye gentlemen, think not that I was really there, for I saw it merely in a dream." Soldiers come in, as she draws the hand from her bosom and flings it on the table.

Thus far, of course, the story is identical with Grimm's "Robber Bridegroom" (cf. Hahn, No. 96; and Cosquin, i. 178, "La Fille du Meunier"). But its close supplies a variant of the close of our vampire story. For the girl then dies, and is buried. Flower grows out of grave. King sees it. Sends coachman to pluck it. He cannot [this supplies lacuna in Roum.-G. version], but king does, and takes it home. At night the flower turns into girl, and eats. Servant sees, and tells. King watches next night. She bids him pluck the flower with a clean white cloth with the left hand; then she will never change back into a rose, but remain a maiden [supplies lacuna]. King does so, and she marries him on condition he will never force her to go to church [supplies lacuna]. He rues his promise when he sees the other kings going to church with their wives. She consents: "But now, as thou wilt, I go. Thy God shall be also my God."' When she comes into the church, there were the twelve robbers. [Whether they had been executed, and these were their ghosts, is not told. But it seems likely, for there had been a long interval, during which she had borne children]. The robber cuts her throat, and she dies. "If she is not dead, she is still alive."

It will be seen that, rude and corrupt as those two fragments are, they supply some details wanting in the Roumanian-Gypsy version. They cannot then be borrowed from it, but it and they are clearly alike derived from some older, more perfect original.

FRANCIS HINDES GROOME.

IV.—GYPSY GRAMMAR BY THE ARCHDUKE JOSEF, 1888.

THE *Literary Guide*, compiled by Emil Thewrewk de Ponor, forms Part II. of this Grammar. This guide will be of great service to all who are interested in the Gypsy race, and are desirous of studying it from either an ethnographical, an historical, or a linguistic point of view. It guides and leads only, and lets the work speak for itself: it only becomes digressive when there is anything to rectify or something new to communicate. Above all, it enumerates those works which furnish the bibliography of the Gypsies.

Passing on to the various ramifications of the Gypsy question, its quotations and communications may be grouped under the following heads:—I. Ethnology. II. History. III. Language and National Poetry. IV. Hungarian Music and Gypsy Music. V. Celebrated Gypsies. VI. The Gypsy as object of Belles-Lettres and Art.

Then follow the bibliographical lists, which mutually supplement one another, pp. 221-228.

I.—ETHNOLOGY OF THE GYPSIES, p. 229.

1. The different names of the Gypsies, p. 229. The names of the Gypsies in Hungary (*Czigány*, Pharaoh's people). Among the Finns, Swedes, etc., pp. 230-232. Family and personal names, p. 232.
2. Statistics of the Gypsies, p. 232. According to the census taken in the year 1873 the number of Gypsies in Hungary was 214,714. A tabular statement is given on pp. 234-238.
3. Anthropological researches, pp. 238-240. Their exterior, cosmetic appliances, their character, disposition, p. 240.
4. Their food, pp. 240-242.
5. Their clothes, pp. 242-244.
6. Their dwellings, p. 244.

7. Their family life. *Patria potestas.* Marriage and upbringing of the children, pp. 245, 246. Sickness, death and burial, inheritance, pp. 247, 248.

8. Religion, pp. 248-250.

9. Occupations, their professions, p. 250. Singers, dancers, tight-rope dancers, puppet-showmen, mountebanks, p. 251. Clowns, story-tellers, improvisatori (in Turkey and Moldavia), p. 252. Bear-wards and monkey-wards, p. 253. Smiths, farriers, metal-workers, pp. 253-255. Gold-washing, pp. 255-256. Fishing, p. 256. Horse-dealers, p. 256. Pig-dealers, p. 256. Bootmakers, cobblers, p. 257. Concerning the occupation of the women, it is interesting to know that the wives of the musicians make beautiful embroideries for the ladies of the capital, p. 257. Agriculturists, p. 257. Hangmen, knackers, p. 258. Fortune-tellers, quack-doctors, sercerers, p. 259. Their thieving, cheating, begging, p. 260. The accusation of kidnapping children, p. 262.

II.—History of the Gypsies, p. 263.

1. The origin of the Gypsies, pp. 263-264. Lower (Little) Egypt, p. 265.

When the Gypsies appeared in Europe they called themselves sometimes "Indians"—"Egyptians," but chiefly "Lower (Little) Egyptians," pp. 265-266. Quotations follow. Egypt has never been divided into Great and Lower (Little) Egypt. The name of "Lower Egypt" has been considered as an invention either of the Gypsies or of scholars, p. 267. Grellmann found "Lower Egypt" as one of the titles of the Turkish emperor; Turkish locality, etc. The document is appended, p. 267. Can "Lower Egypt" really be found among the titles of the Turkish emperor, and what is meant by it? The Bureau of the Sultan's Divan distinctly informs us that the title of "King of Great and Lower Egypt" is not met with in the titles now used by the Turkish ruler, and nothing is known there as to this title having ever been used.

According to information supplied us by Pasha Dschewdet, the present Minister of Justice, who, as historian of the Turkish Empire, is the highest authority regarding these historical

questions, the title in question is not to be found in the original records relative to the declaration of war by Ahmed IV. We must therefore assume, thinks Pasha Dschewdet, that this title is due to a false translation. In opposition to this opinion, we must observe that "Great and Lower Egypt" are mentioned in a document of the Bartfeld Archive. Document cited, p. 268.

Another statement, according to which the north-western part of India, namely the modern Province of Scinde, is said to have been called in the Middle Ages Lower Egypt, has proved erroneous. The Turkish locality and the Bartfeld document are proofs that the said title was really formerly in existence, p. 269.

2. Concerning their migrations, pp. 269-270.

3. Classification of the Gypsies, pp. 271-273.

4. Political organisation of the Gypsies, pp. 274-275. Title of the Captain in Hungary, "Vajda," p. 276. Symbol of the Gypsy Captain: Goblet of the Captain, p. 277. The Gypsy captaincy (*Vajdaság*) as office of State.

   As in Poland, the Gypsy kingship was later conferred on nobles; such was also the case with us that the Gypsy captaincy was vested in the nobility of Transylvania and Hungary. The Woiwodeship, or captaincy of the Gypsies, has long been with us an office of State, combined with which were "iura praerogativa, fructus et emolumenta," which the Crown bestowed on distinguished persons as a reward of merit, but not on Gypsies. In Transylvania we find sometimes one, sometimes two, such captaincies. In Hungary there have been four,—on this side of the Danube, on the other side of the Danube, on this side of the Theiss, and on the other side of the Theiss. The documents are appended, pp. 279-284.

5. Toleration of the Gypsies, and means taken to improve them, p. 284.

6. Laws, enactments relative to the Gypsies, p. 285. Documents —Captaincy of the Gypsies, p. 289.

7. Their military service, p. 292. Function of spy and secret post, pp. 292-293.

8. Miscellaneous historical contributions, pp. 293-296.

III.—The Language and the National Poetry of the Gypsies.

A.

Philology, p. 297.

Studies concerning the Gypsy language in Hungary, p. 297.

G. Enessei's book regarding the origin, language, and fate of the Gypsies was written in Hungarian, but it is cited abroad as if it was written in German, pp. 299-302.

Manuscripts, p. 302.

1. Klausenburg manuscript, pp. 302-303.
2. Iászóvár manuscripts, p. 303.
3. Gelse manuscript, pp. 304, 307.
4. Manuscripts in possession of Archduke Josef, p. 308.
5. Manuscripts in possession of Miklosich, pp. 308-310. Translations by Gypsies, p. 311.

B.

National Poetry, pp. 312-317.

The celebrated Pharaoh Lay, pp. 317-318. The existing variants of the Pharaoh Lay:—

1. That of Reuss, p. 318.
2. That in Ober-Micsinye, p. 320.
3. Ungarisch-Neustadt variant, p. 320.
4. Szatmár do., p. 320.
5. Raab do., p. 321.
6. Arany do., p. 321.
7. Iókai do., p. 321.

IV. Hungarian Music and Gypsy Music, p. 322.

List of books referring to it, p. 327. The origin of the Hungarian music, pp. 328-331.

V.—Celebrated Gypsies, p. 332.

Celebrated Gypsy musicians, pp. 332-338. Celebrated actress and singer, p. 338. Petöfi's sweetheart, p. 338. Gypsy authors, pp. 339-341. Gypsies by birth as Hungarian officers, p. 341. Such as were supposed to be of Gypsy origin, p. 342.

Sarasate denies being of Gypsy origin: he asserts that his father occupied a high post in the army at Saragossa. The artist himself assured us that he was not of Gypsy origin, that his name was Basque, and that of a village in Navarra, pp. 342, 343.

VI.—The Gypsy an Object of Belles-Lettres and Art, p. 344.

A.

Belles-Lettres which have Gypsies as their theme, p. 344.

1. Hungarian literature, pp. 344-351.

The Gypsies appear in the national songs, legends, burlesque poems, folk-tales, anecdotes, proverbs. There exist besides various stories about Gypsies in the popular literature, pp. 244-246.

Polite Literature.

A.

1. It is to be observed that in almost all our national dramas a Gypsy figures at least as a musician. The same is true of romances representing Hungarian life, pp. 346-351.
2. Finnish literature, pp. 351-352.
3. German literature, pp. 352-357.
4. Danish literature, p. 357.
5. Norwegian literature, p. 357.
6. Dutch literature, p. 358.
7. English literature, pp. 358-360.
8. Italian literature, p. 360.
9. French literature, pp. 361-362.
10. Spanish literature, p. 363.
11. Roumanian literature, pp. 363-364.
12. Russian literature, pp. 364-365.
13. Polish literature, p. 365.
14. Croatian literature, p. 365.
15. Servian literature, p. 365.
16. Greek and Albanian literature, pp. 365-366.
17. Latin literature, pp. 366-367. Latin verses about Czinka Panna in Hungarian translation, p. 367.

B.

Pictures, Drawings, and Statuettes, representing Gypsies.

1. Hungarian artists, pp. 368-370.
2. Foreign artists, pp. 370-371.
3. Operas, ballets, etc., which introduce Gypsies, pp. 372-374.
4. Other pieces of music, p. 374.
5. Supplement, pp. 375-377.

Having hitherto confined myself to the contents of this book, I shall add various items with regard to different parts of it.

According to the census taken in the year 1873, the number of Gypsies in the countries belonging to the Crown of Hungary amounted to 214,714. A tabular statement follows, according to districts, counties, and towns; see pp. 234-236.

Regarding Debreczen, *Ausland* says, 1864, p. 880: "The truly Magyar town Debreczen is also the chief seat of the Gypsies." This is contradicted by the official statement of the census, according to which there is not a single Gypsy there. Even in the whole Hajdukn country there dwell only 117 Gypsies. This contradiction is however only a seeming one, as at the present time 85 families of Gypsy origin live in Debreczen. The number of the members of these families is 321, of whom 162 are males and 159 females. They have, however, become so Magyarised that only a few—only the old people—understand the Gypsy language. They are not acquainted with other languages. As Hungarians,—Hungarian patriots—they have entered themselves in the census as belonging by birth to Hungary. They object to the appellation "ùj Magyar," new Hungarian, for, in their opinion, the Jew is the new Hungarian, and not they. The majority profess the Reformed faith. The men, with some few exceptions, are musicians. Some of the older ones carry on the trade of smiths. The older widows deal in textile fabrics. The Gypsies of Debreczen are not vagrants; they do not frequent fairs, nor do they occupy themselves with brick-making. These labours are performed in Debreczen and the surrounding quarters by the Gypsies of the Hajduk towns and neighbouring countries. Among the towns of the Hungarian Crown Klausenburg has the greatest number of Gypsy inhabitants—425. After it follows Debreczen with 321, then Versecz with 210, and Temesvár with 208 Gypsy inhabitants. The county of Nagy-Küküllö has the largest number of Gypsy inhabitants—6814. Next comes the county of Maros-Torda with 6114, and third, the county of Kis-Küküllö with 5484 Gypsies.

Sztojka mentions in his Vocabulary, pp. 191, 192, a tradition, according to which the Gypsies, after the disaster of Nagy-Ida, are said to have divided into nine sections. The first band went straight to Debreczen, and fared well there. Woiwodes were chosen; Kucsuj and Gyorgyi were the two Woiwodes of the band, pp. 237-238.

As a singular fact we may mention that in Nagy-Szeben (Hermannstadt), when Count Péchy, as Royal Commissary of Transyl-

vania, made a circuit in the year 1868, the enthusiastic populace has shown a beautiful blonde Gypsy girl. Dr. Aurel Török has also seen a blonde Gypsy, who, according to his opinion, was either a bastard or a kidnapped child (p. 239).

A trivial Walachian Volkslied of Arad relates the following:—The Gypsies assembled in council, when they agreed to build a church in a clean place . . . in the shade of the hedge. . . . What should they build it of? Wood? It will rust (*sic*). Iron? It will rot (*sic*). It must be made of cheese, the towers of sheep's milk cheese, so as not to tumble down. The bells made of horse's heads, so that one may hear them as far as Transylvania. The rope of dog's gut, so that one can give a good pull. The door of fat bacon, so that the Gypsies can see it from their houses. The bolt to consist of a sucking pig and a good knife lying beside it. When the Gypsies got angry they hunted away the parson and ate up the church, p. 249.

What Pott (ii. 528) and Dieffenbach (ii. 329) say respecting the etymology of the word *Agilis* is quite wrong. *Agilis* is not to be found in the Gypsy language, and does not occur elsewhere, except in Latin records, as it is a purely Latin word. *Agilis* is a title with which those that were not of noble birth were accosted, p. 276.

A ridiculous blunder occurs in Heister, 54:—" To the present day the Gypsies elect in the above-mentioned dominions of the Austrian Monarchy Chief Gypsies (Rabbers, Woiwoden, Waydas), whom the Government employs to keep this people somewhat in discipline and order," etc. Where Heister got his "Rabbers" is plain from a passage on p. 61:—" Vali wrote down about a thousand Hindu words which the Rabbers of the Hungarian Gypsies without exception understood." Heister copied this from Grellman, 282, where one reads the following:—" After Vali had returned home from the Universities, he inquired of the *Raber* Gypsies the meaning of those Malabar words, and they knew every one of them without difficulty and hesitation" (Raber Gypsies=Gypsies from the town of Rab). The word "Raber," signifying a kind of chief (captain), is entirely unknown with us. (Pott, i. 37: "*Trois de leurs Rabers ou chefs en Europe,*" etc., p. 277.)

We have already spoken of the Woiwodeship of the Gypsies. We may add here: after the death of Tlosvay, Siegmund Szontag applied for the post of Woiwode. His application, which illustrates instructively the Captaincy or Woiwodeship of the Gypsies, was of the following purport; see p. 283. It is written in Latin. The first answer to his application was that the office would not be filled up again, p. 284.

VII.—Regarding the Manuscripts.

1. The Klausenburg Manuscript.

The Latin title (see p. 302): "Vocabularium Zingarico-Latinum et Hun.," etc. This manuscript consists of forty-three written pages, which are inserted between the leaves of a book, bearing the following title :—Primitiva linguae, etc. See p. 302.

This manuscript is in possession of the Museum in Transylvania. It was supposed to be lost, but recently Alexander Markovics has discovered it, and is about to publish it in a systematic monograph, p. 303.

2. Jaszovar Manuscripts.

1. "Fundamentum Linguae Zingaricae J.J.M. Koritschnyák. Anno 1806"; published by the Archduke Josef in the Journal *Egyetemes philol. Közlöny* (Organ of Comparative Philology), 1887, xi. 705-731. It has also been printed separately. The author of this Grammar was Jacob Koritschnyák, born the 24th May 1778, at Kis-Bér, in the district of Komorn. Admitted as a pupil of the Premonstratensian Order at Jászóvár, he was, after the termination of his studies, ordained priest in the year 1804 (24th Oct.). He was librarian, curate in Debröd, factor in Jászó, Director of the Gymnasium at Leutschau, steward in Lelesz, where he died, the 10th July 1846, p. 303.

2. "Tentamen condiscendae Linguae Zingaricae. Wen. Kohauth m.p." Besides this title-page, this octavo pamphlet contains twenty-four written and six blank pages. This manuscript is only the copy of Grellmann's vocabulary, with a Latin translation. Only the two adverbs—*kah, quo*; *katahr, unde*; and the two prepositions, *andro, ad, in*; *andral, ex, ab*—do not occur in Grellmann. The Paternoster on pp. 25, 26, with an interlinear Latin translation, is the Lord's Prayer of Heyne given by Grellmann, 316, No. III.

3. "Exercitatio Linguae Zingaricae. Venceslai Kohauth m. p. Poëseos Alumni, 1821." Contents: Formulae loquendi (pp. 3-8); Vocabula Z. et H. (Zing. and Hungar.), pp. 9-11. A pamphlet of 16 pp. in 8vo. A collection of sentences and words by Vencel Kohauth, born 12th Oct. 1803, in Kollin, Bohemia. He entered the Order of Premonstratensian monks, and was ordained priest on the 27th Oct. 1827. He was Præfect of the College at Leutschau, Professor at Rosenau (Rozsnyó), later Secretary and Librarian, Director of the Higher Gymnasium at Leutschau, and Regius Librorum

Censor, and afterwards curate in Jászó-Mindszent. He died at Jászó on the 5th Nov. 1867. All these manuscripts are in possession of the Provost (ecclesiastical officer) of Jászóvár. We are indebted for their discovery to His Excellency the Rev. Victor Kaczwinszky, p. 304.

3. Manuscripts in Gelse.

1. Grammar containing correspondence and conversational exercises. Five parts, in 4to. It is in possession of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The first part contains a Gypsy grammar, which explains and illustrates with examples eight parts of speech. There are 134 numbered and 6 unnumbered pages. The second part contains 25 numbered and 3 unnumbered pages. Syntax or further rules regulating the 8 parts of speech. The third part has 23 numbered and 3 unnumbered pages. Title: "Románo Lilyiben pál Grammatikákere Dromeszkero szikavibnászte, uzsàndo"—Gypsy correspondence put together with respect to grammatical order. The fourth part has 29 numbered and 3 unnumbered pages. The third supplement. Title: "Shov chạrno vàkériben, hávo szávoro manush," etc.; see the last line of p. 305 ff. The fifth part contains 22 numbered and 2 unnumbered pages. Index.

2. Dictionary in the possession of the Hungarian Academy. Five parts in 8vo. Contains a Gypsy-Hungarian and Hungarian-Gypsy vocabulary.

The author of these manuscripts is Johann Szmodis, who worked as Roman Catholic priest in the Zalaer Comitate at Gelse, from the 4th Nov. 1826 to the 1st July 1846, where he died, at the age of 60. This work of Szmodis' is very interesting. It had its origin at a time when very little notice was taken of the Romany race, and the greatest part of it seems to be founded on his own experience. The suspicion that the author has been acquainted with the little work by Puchmayer does not seem unlikely. "The Bohemian dialectical elements of this manuscript are very striking, though a great part of it is of Hungarian origin."—Archduke Josef, p. 307.

3. Manuscripts in the possession of the Archduke Josef—

a. Balogh Jancsi of Ipolyság, Zigány (Gypsy) musician: Hungarian-Gypsy pocket dictionary. Schemnitz, 1. Okt. 1876. At the end of the dictionary there is a small collection of phrases—the signing with the cross, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, the Belief, and the Ten Commandments. Small 8vo; 136 numbered and 22 unnumbered pages; bound in red

cloth, with gilt edges. On the inner page of the first leaf is the photograph of the author.

b. See p. 308, under *b.*

c. Gypsy letters written to the Archduke Josef by Ténàs, Gypsy musician from Miskolcz, also by Sztojka from Nagy-Ida (from the latter also some Gypsy verses), and a letter from Andreas Györffy, author of the Hungarian-Gypsy Dictionary which appeared in Paks.

d. Letters to the Archduke Josef in German, by Franz Miklosich.

e. Dr. Ed. Sabell, "Anna Böckler and the Gypsies." Defence of the Gypsies with regard to the accusation of kidnapping children.

4. Index of the manuscripts, by Miklosich. See p. 308, and following.

4. Gypsy Translations.

Prayers, hymns, psalms, by Franz Sztojka, Balogh Jancsi of Ipolyság, etc. The Gospel of St. Luke, v. 1-11. The Gospel of St. Matthew, ii. 1-5. The Song of Solomon. The Book of Kings, I. iii. 16-18. Biblical apophthegms. Fables by Aesop and others. "The Horse and the Bull," by Lessing; by the Gypsy "Fräulein" Helene Petermann. Shakespeare's *Othello,* Act IV. Scene 4. Several poems by Petöfi, by Jos. Boldizsár (senior). Eight pieces of Sztojka; see his dictionary, pp. 174-179. Etedi S. Márton's "Hungarian Mourning," relating to the heroes who fell at Mohács: Translated into Romani by Sztojka. Regarding the celebrated Pharaoh Lay, see the German, p. 317.

In our opinion the Pharaoh Lay is a lyric collection of songs, in which, according to Hungarian custom, the melancholy slow time is followed by a lively one. In the manuscript by Grün it is called "a Gypsy Quodlibet." The text having been written by illiterates, it is so incorrect that the scholars have tried in vain to decipher it. Only the verse beginning with "Csajori" is quite intelligible. See p. 318. A Hungarian translation is annexed. The deciphering of the other verses can only succeed after a careful collation and critical comparison of the variants. Until now we possess the following variants. See p. 318, etc.

A celebrated actress and singer is Hegyi Aranka, one of the favourite prima donnas of the Popular Theatre at Budapest. See K.'s feuilleton in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* of August 1887,

where, under the title of "Brown musicians," it is wrongly asserted that she is the daughter of the celebrated Franz Sárközy. See p. 338.

AUTHORS OF A KIND.

Ipolysághi Balogh Jancsi. Josef Tóth mentions him in Föv. Lapok, 1873, No. 128, as "the old musician," and the first national Gypsy author. So does Emil Thewrewk de Ponor in No. 142. The same article appeared again in Magy. Polgár (Ung. Bürger), and an excerpt of it in Szana Figyelö, III. 308, 309. Ipolysághi Balogh was the first who published under the following title: *The First Gypsy Prayers for the use of the Gypsies of the two Hungarian Countries. Translated by Ipolysághi Balogh Jancsi, Director of the National Music Corps.* Graan, 1850. Printed by Jos. Beimel, octavo, 8 pages. Contents: Signing with the cross, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Creed, ten commandments, morning prayer, grace before meals, grace after meals, evening prayers, supplications, good resolutions before retiring to rest. On the second page is the following observation: "As it is not unknown to the translator that there hitherto has been no instance of a Gypsy's knowing how to pray in his mother tongue, he has dedicated this small translation to the Nation."

Boldizsár Jozsi (the elder), Gypsy musician of Klausenburg, born 25th April 1823, died the 5th June 1878. He imparted to Wlislocki one Kuruzlied, which he often heard sung by his comrades during the revolution in which he had taken part. He possessed great natural poetical gifts. He translated several poems of Petöfi into the Gypsy dialect. A small part of these translations appeared in *Összehasonlitó Irodalmi Lapok*, vol. iii. (Comparative Literary Leaflets). The greater part lies unutilised in manuscript, as also does his Dictionary, p. 340.

Franz Sztojka of Nagy-Ida in Uszod. His work appeared under the following title: "To His Imperial and Hungarian Royal Highness Archduke Josef, this Dictionary of the Hungarian and Gypsy language is dedicated."

Románé áláviá. For the use of schools; and *Travels*, by Franz Sztojka of Nagy-Ida, in Uszod 1886. Kalocsa, 1886. Printer, Ant. Malatius. Two folio x. and 205 pp.

It consists of two parts. The first (pp. 1-151) is the Hungarian-Gypsy vocabulary, which gives the Walachian-Gypsy dialect used in the environs of Uszòd. It tries to reproduce the Hungarian expressions in the Gypsy language, which is not always successfully accomplished. It must be used with care. It is, however, very

interesting to the etymologist, as it proceeds from a born Gypsy and shows all the appearances which we recognise in the efforts of literary languages that aim to increase and renew themselves.

The contents of the second part are: (second division), Gypsy exercises, prayers, songs, stories, and translations of Hungarian poems; (third division), original Gypsy poems, and Hungarian translations of the same, by the poet Franz Sztojka of Nagy-Ida. "The migration of the Gypsies" (Hung. poem); the races of the Gypsies; the rooted habits of the Gypsies, and Romaic Pàrámiesi. Valuable material in the hand of the etymologist, p. 340.

Hungarian Higher Officers of Gypsy descent: Franz Horváth, the brave Colonel Thököly's. He joined later the Imperial party. He fell before the arms of the Kuruzians in their victorious invasion of Transylvania in the year 1690. Such is the account of Kolom Thaly, who follows contemporary narratives.

Cf. also Jókai's *Románo czibakéró sziklariben* (*Még egy csokrot*, p. 250. "We had a Gypsy general, not long ago there has been ordained in the diocese of Waitzen a Gypsy priest; and of the twenty-three living sons of Paul Rácz, the popular first violinist,[1] some are lawyers, engineers, officials, doctors, professors, and perhaps a few only remained Gypsies. Extensive reading, love of science, has taken hold of them. Many of them have acquired houses and land; some have made a great name as singers and reciters, and lead an exemplary life";) and K.'s *Brown Musicians* in the Vienna *Allge. Zeitung*, Aug. 1887.

Lippay Balázs (Blasius Lippay), Captain of the Haiduks, celebrated General of Prince Bocskay. When Basta made him prisoner near Tokaj in the year 1604, and he was condemned to the gallows, he broke with one last effort his fetters, snatched the sabre from one of the German soldiers that surrounded him, laid about him, and fell sword in hand fighting like a hero, and cut in pieces, p. 341.

Supposed to be of Gypsy descent, p. 342,--*Antonio Solario, detto Lo Zingaro, (called the Gypsy), celebrated painter.*

Predari, who gives his portrait at the beginning of *Origine e vicende dei Zingari*, says, on p. 7 of the *Introduzione*: "Ricordiamo il celebre pittore Solario, detto lo Zingaro, perche originariamente tale e del quale porgemmo il ritratto senza curarci di estenderci su le singolarità della sua vita, siccome cosa abbastanza nota." The chroniclers of Naples speak of him *in extenso*, particularly Catalani, *Discorso* 16-19; Baldinucci, Piacenza, *Opere* iv. 148.

[1] Incidentally referred to in vol. i. of our *Journal*, foot of page 178.—[ED.]

Chronological reasons force us to the conclusion that Solario was not a Gypsy. He came by the name of Zingaro, as being the son of a travelling smith (farrier), and as having himself first engaged in that calling. According to some accounts he was born in the year 1382. The year of his death is said to have been 1445 or 1455. Since, however, at the end of the fourteenth century we find Gypsies in Europe, only in Crete, Corfu, Walachia, and Nauplion, and since they only made their appearance in Italy in the year 1422, it is clear that Solario could not be of Gypsy parentage. Those who affirm that he was born in the middle of the fifteenth century are obliged to change the date of his death, and to assign it to a much later period, p. 342.

Demetrius Kármán. In Liszt's *Des Bohem*, p. 290, we read that "Tinódi mentions a Gypsy of the name of Demetrius Kármán, from Lippa, as an extraordinarily talented *virtuoso*; and although there were at that period many Gypsy *virtuosi*, yet there was not one who could be compared with Kármán." Tinódi, indeed, makes mention of him in the verses (1145-1153) of his history of Transylvania; but he does not say that he was a Gypsy, only that he was a violinist, and after the Servian style, p. 343.

SUPPLEMENT, p. 376.

To page 343, B. Reiner has published in the *Neue freie Presse* (Feb. 1888, No. 23-24), a very interesting pamphlet regarding Johann Csorba, the Gypsy Burgomaster of Debreczen. Johann Csorba was Burgomaster of Debreczen from the 1st of June 1854 to July 1860. He was born in the county of Ugocsa, studied at the College of Debreczen, and having completed his course, became engineer. From thence Eduard Cseh brought him at the beginning of the year 1850 to the Gross-Vardein Government as Imperial and Royal Ministerial Commissioner; and afterwards he was transferred as Imperial Royal Burgomaster to Debreczen.

The elder brother of Johann Csorba was Physician of the county of Somogy. He was elected Corresponding Member of the Academy in the year 1832, and died the 23d November 1858.

Reiner mentions also, in his article at the Alföld (Puszta) the widely-known Gypsy Nabob, "Notari," the Imperial Ottoman purveyor of horses. Szimay says that Johann Csajághy, a provincial Brigadier-General of Rákoczis, was a Gypsy; whereas Csajághy is descended from an old noble family in the county of Veszprèm.

EMIL THEWREWK DE PONOR.

V.—MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF THE GYPSIES COLLECTED BY M. I. KOUNAVINE.

(*Concluded.*)

SONGS.

AFTER the traditions, the most important place among the materials collected by Kounavine ought to be assigned to the songs. Of these a great number are found in every camp of the Gypsies, who have long been celebrated for their love of song and the dance. Without taking into account their form and contents, they might be divided into several categories; although it is practically sufficient to distinguish these songs as of ancient and of modern origin. The latter, for the most part very light in substance and often very sensual, have usually very little sense. Everything in these songs demonstrates that they are of recent origin, and that they were not composed with any special aim, but were improvised under the inspiration of some joyous moment of the musician's. A wholly different character presents itself to us in their ancient songs, which have chiefly occupied M. Kounavine's attention. We there find the greatest amount of data upon the primitive mythology, the manners, and the ancient usages of the Gypsies. The leading features of the Gypsy divinities, as well as their names and epithets, are expressed in these songs with so much precision and clearness, that it only remains to the explorer to note the salient characteristics. We must ourselves admit that in examining M. Kounavine's materials, and in there seeking for data upon the primitive mythology of the Gypsies, it is only in the ancient religious and ritual songs of the Gypsies that we have found the solution of some of the most difficult questions.

Many of these songs have so solemn a character that they ought to be altogether regarded as hymns or prayers, expressed in a poetic form. The metaphors and figures which make up the principal part of these poetical productions of the Gypsies prove to us the religious origin of this kind of hymns.

For example, we shall cite some of them, with the necessary comments.

A. "Golden sun, eye of the glittering father,—*Pashivine!* (very probably monophonetic [? homophonetic] from the Hindu names *Siva*

and *Shiva*), cast thy glance upon our camp, and on our horses, our tents, our wives, and our children. . . . Let thine arrows (a metaphor for rays) awaken the earth from its cold slumber; may she, as a mother, bring forth fertile gifts.—King of the immeasurable heaven, flashing with light, who hast created heaven and earth;—Lord, who piercest the earth and the water! thou dost not hear my prayer, thou seest not my sorrowful face; the sombre *noro* (an unintelligible word) has obscured thine eyes, he has filled thine ears with dust, . . . *Khakhava*—(cf. *Bhahavan*, one of the names of Brama); *Baramy*, the all-powerful; *Davanni*, the most high, send unto us thy *noun* (spirit or life),[1] that the meadows may be covered with succulent herbs, so that the horses of thy children may revel in the rich pasture."

From this song it may readily be inferred that the Gypsy Baramy was not only the creator of the universe (like the Hindu Brama), but also its protector and guardian (like the Hindu Vishnu); and his epithet (*Pashivine*, "glittering or burning father") indicates to us his *rôle* of destroying divinity, like the Hindu Shiva. But despite his great power, Baramy is dependent on a certain shadowy being, the *noro*, who seems to denote a being similar to the Hindu Maya, who ever domineers over and oppresses not only men, but the gods above.

B. "Baramy, hidden in *Omoni*, thou reflectest thyself as a ray of sunlight in the depths of the earth created by thee. In Omoni is thy body and thy mighty word. Say, O father of the universe, who it is that has become guilty before thee, that the sun is hidden in the abysses of the waters and no more illuminates the darkened earth."

C. "It is in thee, the omnipotent Omoni, who hast created the universe by thy mighty word,—it is in thee, Omoni, that Baramy reposes,—in thee reposes Pashivine, the golden eye of the father,—in thee the shining stars,—in thee, through all the ages, beams the pale-faced moon, lighting the world of sorrows and gloom" (a Buddhist, and to some extent a Sabæan conception of the universe).

From these two solemn hymns in honour of Omoni one may infer many traits characterising this superior divinity of the primitive mythology of these Gypsies; and one might complete these by means of other characteristics, furnished us by a magic spell to be quoted below.

[1] The Hindu *Paratma*.

We here restrict ourselves, however, to dwelling upon the principal features. The Gypsy Baramy, like the Hindu Brama (Parabrama), is seen in the proto-divinity Omoni (the eternal word,—a transfiguration of Brama), in whom he is contained just as Brama is in the triune Trimoutri of Sanscrit. In Omoni is hidden his corporeal and inert substance, as well as the potential-dynamic (*sic*) substance,—his word, which has created the universe. Omoni, and with him the whole universe, enclosing within him both the divinity and the universe, with the sun, the moon, and the stars, is an essentially Sabæan conception.

D. "Biss, Biss, joyous and radiant, send us happiness,—songs to our dark-eyed daughters, and the dance and laughter to our young men; wreathe your curls of black hair with red flowers (a common Aryan conception). . . . He takes delight, the joyous Biss: he takes delight in the dance and in mirth."

For lack of similar ideas, we may not draw a parallel more or less exact between this divinity and his analogues among other peoples, and describe his character; but we may nevertheless conclude from the song quoted that the *Biss* of the Gypsies signified a divinity analogous to the Slav *Lado*, the Germanic *Brahura*, the Greek Λύδις, etc.

Spells and Incantations.

Besides these primitive products of the creative faculty of the Gypsies, M. Kounavine has collected several magic spells, which are also very interesting from the point of view of comparative mythology.

The magic spells of the Gypsies, which are used at the present day by those of their camps who occupy themselves chiefly in fortune-telling, have nothing specially distinguishing them from similar charms among other Aryan peoples, and are only interesting because they contain invocations generally applied to divinities, which, to a mythologist, is of value.

By means of the spells about to be cited, we shall endeavour to explain some of the peculiarities of the Gypsy mythology, already touched upon in analysing the Gypsy tales and songs.

A. "All-powerful Omoni, who has given the earth and the water and the air (Egyptian *Neyt*, a phase of Ammon) to the world, and the

fire (Egyptian *Kneff*) and thy life (Hindu *Paratma*) to living beings, —may he strike with his spirit which has created all visible things upon the earth and in the water and on the heavens, him who would dare to break the calm of this sacred place! May the great Baramy appear in his splendour, hidden in Omoni; may his spirit issue therefrom, and, like a radiant star, fill all the earth with his light, if this place remain not inviolate." . . .

Omoni then is as a covering which envelops the proto-divinity, although, properly speaking, he has a much more lofty significance. Like the fourfold[1] Ammon of the Egyptians, the Gypsy Omoni is composed of proto-matter (earth, water, air), of the creative force (fire), and the Gypsy Omoni only lacks all-absorbing time (Egyptian *Sebek*) and all-embracing space (Egyptian *Pasht*); but on the other hand, he possesses another vivifying element, namely, life (Hindu *Paratma*), which the sombre Egyptian mythology had, so to speak, forgotten. According to the ideas of the Gypsies, as well as of the Egyptians, the universe and divinity are of the same substance, with this single difference, that the universe is a definite and developed part of the proto-divinity, Baramy, who exists both under the form of the Gypsy Omoni, and also, outside of him, in an undeveloped form, although he preserves at all times the elements and forces necessary for a new creation of the universe. In this way, according to the ideas of the primitive mythology of the Gypsies, from Omoni, as proto-matter, with the aid of the powerful word,—of his creative force, emanate all the proto-elements, of which the Gypsy recognises five: "Omoni, who has given earth, and air, and water to the world (the Egyptian proto-matter *Neyt*), and the fire (the Egyptian proto-air *Kneyff*), and his life to living beings." It becomes evident from this citation that life also in its abstract sense presented itself to the cosmic religious conceptions of the Gypsies, as an emanation identical with the divinity in the universe, as much as with the other elements. The last words of the same spell show us that the Gypsies had known from the earliest time that all the gods also, even the great Baramy himself, emanated from Omoni, and contained principally one of his elements, namely, life.

B. "Great Fire, my defender and protector, son of the celestial fire, equal of the sun, who cleanses the earth of foulness! deliver this man from the evil sickness that torments him night and day. . . ."

[1] M. Elysseeff's Russian adjective is very obscure, literally *four times blended* (tchetyri okhsliyannyi), which I apprehend is "composed of four substances."—I. K.

C. "Fire, who punishest the evildoer, who hatest falsehood, who scorchest the impure; thou destroyest offenders; thy flame devoureth the earth. Devour N. N. if he says what is not true, if he thinks a lie, and if he acts deceitfully."

In these two incantations, which the Gypsy sorcerer always pronounces facing the burning hearth, is expressed all the character, all the worship of *Fire,*—of a divinity of the primitive mythology of the Gypsies. Fire was always to the Gypsy like *Agni-Ved,* "the son of the celestial fire," a divinity "equal to the sun," and not yielding to Jandra himself in power; which quite accords with the Hindu belief that *Indra* is in heaven what *Agni* is on earth. Equal to Jandra and Baramy in power and importance, Fire yields not to them either in the variety of his (? symbolical) significations, or in the solemnity of his worship. Like the divinity of the sun, he is also the defender and protector of the feeble, punishing everything evil, the guardian of everything pure and holy; to him, as to Jandra, every unprotected man addressed himself, for he believed that the just and pure divinity punishes evil and recompenses good. Fire, like Jandra, is named "the sovereign of the earth," being his representative upon earth. Like the celestial fire or light, Fire is not only the physical, but also the moral light. It cleanses the unclean, it cures incurable maladies, it restores the vigour and health of those who address their prayers to it.

D. Charm against Barrenness. "Laki, thou destroyest and dost make everything on earth; thou canst see nothing old, for death lives in thee; thou givest birth to all upon the earth, for thou thyself art life. . . . By thy might cause me (N. N.) to bear good fruit, I who am deprived of the joy of motherhood, and barren as a rock."

This charm explains to us one of the significations of the primitive divinity of the Gypsies, named Laki, whose signification is difficult to understand owing to the variety of her manifestations, and consequently of her significations also. The goddess Laki, although probably homophonetic with Laksmi (Çri),—the wife of Vishnu, goddess of domestic prosperity and happiness,—nevertheless differs from her in character. Inasmuch as Lakṣmi is generator and protector of every created being, Laki is the generator and the destroyer of all that she herself created. Her ambiguous part makes her rather resemble the Hindu divinity *Shiva,* and particularly his wife *Kali* (Bhavani Parvata), who, as *sakti* (wife) of Shiva, has, like her husband, the twofold signification. Considering this ambiguity, Laki represents

rather the wise, destructive power of nature, maintaining an equal balance in all its parts, for she does not utterly destroy all that she encounters, like the infernal Bhavani, but only what is contrary to the harmony of nature and to the regular course of its laws. She constructs wisely and she destroys wisely: she is rather the goddess of the harmony of the universe, which is particularly well expressed in another incantation, also specially consecrated to Laki:—

E. "Thou art the mother of every living creature and the distributor of good; thou doest according to thy wisdom in destroying what is useless or what has lived its destined time; by thy wisdom thou makest the earth to regenerate all that is new. . . . Thou dost not seek the death of any one, for thou art the benefactress of mankind. . . ."

F. "Jandra, bearer of thunderbolts, great Periani (comp. *Parjanya*, an epithet of Indra, Slav. *Perun*), bearer of lightning! Slay with thy thunderbolt and burn with thy celestial fire him who darest to violate his oath."

This formula completes the signification of Jandra, as divinity of the sun,—physical and moral light. In this phase, as in all others, he is plainly analogous to the Hindu Indra, and he surpasses rather than falls short of him in the variety of his aspects.

Proverbial Sayings and Maxims.

Of the Gypsy sayings and maxims collected by M. Kounavine, to the number of three or four score, we shall not cite those which relate to morals and the practical wisdom of life, but only those which mention the name of some divinity of the primitive mythology of the Gypsies. Thus:—

(*a*) "As good, as generous, as merciful, as just as Jandra."

(*b*) "As wise as Laki."

(*c*) "Inn, ino Matta" (the word *inn* in a Gypsy tale is held as a great, powerful word, analogous to the Hindu *ad* or *aum*). Here there is mentioned the name of one of the divinities of the primitive mythology of the Gypsies.

Such, generally, are the materials collected by M. Kounavine. The examples cited above, and our accompanying explanations, may

give us an idea of their essence and form. We have analysed them, it is true, from a somewhat exclusive point of view, that of comparative mythology; but that itself warrants us in giving a considerable importance to these materials in connection with Gypsy ethnology. In the same way, in studying the Gypsy tales and traditions, in which an historic basis is discernible, manifesting itself in certain proper names, it is *a priori* admissible that they may furnish us with numerous data concerning the history of the Gypsy people.

We will not at all enlarge upon some ethnographical data of great importance, such as those which instruct us regarding the life, the manners, and the customs of the Gypsies, their poetic faculty, their cosmic ideas, their social and family relations, among the Gypsies of various camps,—which can be studied in Kounavine's materials, for the value of these data is patent to every ethnologist.

In order to complete our account, we shall endeavour to epitomise several of our theses, which we have attained sometimes by means of our own studies upon the Gypsy race, sometimes in studying the materials of Kounavine.

1. The Gypsies are undoubtedly emigrants from Hindustan, the mother-country of the Aryan peoples, to which the Gypsies belong beyond dispute, which is proved by their language, their manners, and even by their anthropologic type. Blumenbach assigns them positively to the Caucasian type. Kopernicki, having compared Gypsy and Hindu skulls, has found few differences and many resemblances between them. Topinard says the same thing. Abel Hovelacque distinguishes two types: one, more refined, has the face more of a long oval, finer features, and aquiline nose; the other, with coarser features and the glance less piercing. M. Kounavine declares that this last type is due to a mixture of Mongolian blood. The Gypsy skull is slightly prognathous; they are *leptorhinians*, and stand, according to Blumenbach, midway between the meso- and dolichocephales.[1] Twelve skulls measured by us in the course of last summer, of Gypsies living in the neighbourhood of Novgorod, have given the cephalic indices (deducting the thickness of the tegument) 76·5, 77, 75, 80, and even 81·4, which proves that they belong to the sub-dolichocephalic type as well as to the sub-brachycephalic, although on an average they are mesocephalic. The

[1] The distinction between dolicho- and brachycephalic forms, never thought of by Blumenbach, was first established by A. Retzius in 1838; and it was not until twenty years after tha Welcker and Broca distinguished the mesocephalic forms.—I. K.

variations in their craniometric measurements depends upon the mixture of Gypsies with brachycephalic Russians.

2. In M. Kounavine's opinion the Gypsies are not descended from any one caste whatsoever, as Richardson, Marsden, Grellmann, and others believe, but are the outcasts of various Hindu castes. After having, to the best of our ability, studied Kounavine's materials from the mythological point of view, we join our opinion to his. Considering the well-known exclusiveness of the Hindu castes, specially potent in ancient times, when differences between castes, emanating from religious traditions fresh from the Vedic period, were observed with the greatest rigour, it is easy to understand that the number of outcasts from different castes might be so considerable that after expulsion they might have been sufficient to form an entire people outside of their parent race. The formation of the Gypsy people may also have been assisted by those small populations of nomads, not rare even at the present day, particularly in the Vindhya Mountains and the hills of the Deccan.

This hypothesis is confirmed by the different specialties of different Gypsy camps, as well as by the different degree in which are preserved, *cæteris paribus*, the ancient products of the national genius of the Gypsies, who in all other respects approach each other very closely. For it is evident that a descendant of the caste of the Brahmans ought to preserve many more remains of his ancient morphological beliefs than a descendant of the caste of the Vaisyas or the Sûdras. And on the other hand, the descendant of the noble Brahmans will be more disposed to utilise his knowledge of divination, enchantments, and magic, than a descendant of the Vaisyas or of the Sûdras, whose specialty shows itself even at the present day among certain Gypsies who occupy themselves chiefly with trade or barter, smiths, tinkers, and others. Lastly, the descendants of the castes of the Kafirs, these thorough rogues and horse-thieves, who have drawn down upon the whole Gypsy race the unfavourable reputation of thieves, constitute, alas! the majority of the Gypsies known in Russia and Western Europe.

3. The Gypsy tongue, according to M. Kounavine, is a mixture of many of the languages of Central and Western Asia, with the kindred speech of the Neo-Hindus. Every Gypsy dialect contains a large number of words of non-Aryan origin: Aramaic, Semitic, and even Mongol words form twenty-five per cent. of the Gypsy vocabulary, taken in its largest sense.

4. The emigration of the Gypsies from Hindustan cannot be referred to any date or historical moment, for example to that of Tamerlane's invasion of India, as it has been by some savants, because, in accordance with certain conditions of existence, the elements which composed the mass of the emigrants formed from the outcast of different castes arose little by little and in a continuous manner. The essence of the primitive beliefs of the Gypsies, borrowed from the religions of different peoples encountered by the Gypsies in their journey, and particularly those borrowed from the religion of Zoroaster, confirm our hypothesis—that the emigration of the Gypsy camps from their fatherland effected itself in the course of many centuries, and that it must in all probability have commenced before our era.

5. The route of the migrations of the Gypsy camps from their parent country, according to the indications furnished by the study of their poetry and their religion, as well as by some corrupted proper names, coincides very closely with the ancient route of the conquering Macedonian. M. Kounavine states that "the Gypsies of Asia Minor have even preserved traditions of the passage of their fathers into Europe across the sea." Nevertheless, the greatest portion of the Gypsies did not reach Europe by that route, but by making a wide *détour* by Egypt, the Caucasus, and the northern shores of the Caspian Sea, by "the great gateway of the nations." From the different routes, one or another, by which the Gypsy camps have reached Europe, results the variety of their dialects.

The map annexed hereto, as also Kounavine's classification, sufficiently elucidate this subject.

6. The essence of the primitive religious beliefs and ideas of the Gypsies is based upon pantheistic principles; but their pantheism combines, in a strange fashion, the Hindu idealism with the Egyptian realism and the Zendic dualism, modified at root by some monotheistic ideas of Islamism and Christianity. A mixture of every kind of religion of the European and Asiatic peoples, having at bottom the cosmic Hindu ideas, constitutes the primitive mythology of the Gypsies. But, nevertheless, the Hindu mythology figures there in a very prominent manner; in the proper names of the primitive divinities of the Gypsies: Jandra, Farré, Baramy, Laki, and Matta—it is impossible not to recognise in these the Vedic names of Indra, Varuna, Brama, Lakshmi, and Mata.

7. Throughout their historical existence, during which they were in contact with other peoples of the ancient world, the Gypsies have preserved their nomadic instincts; their various camps have presented various special differences, which were relics of their customs peculiar to castes; they were never conquerors, but very often thieves and robbers.

8. The family principle never existed among the Gypsies;[1] the separate camps were governed by the oldest and most experienced chiefs, who had well proved the nomad life, "who knew of new meadows for lively horses," as a Gypsy tale expresses it. The morality of the Gypsies was better in former times, as one might have reasonably expected, owing to their dualistic ideas, which pervaded all their religious and poetic conceptions; even the offences against virginity, so common among the Gypsies of to-day, have been cruelly and shamefully punished by their ancestors. The chief pleasure of the Gypsies, in all of their camps, have been from the earliest time music and dancing, in which they excel even now.

9. The Gypsies will remain nomads for a long time to come, for their historic destiny has so made them; nevertheless, the work of settling the Gypsies in Western Europe advances with a certain success.

10. Among the Gypsies of the different camps, and, above all, among those of the East, there are some very notable differences in their speech, as well as in their manners and customs. "From what we know of the Gypsies in our own country," says M. Kounavine, "we can have no idea of those of the East and of Asia."

Such, in sum, are our conclusions regarding the Gypsies, that most curious of all the nations of Europe, whose miserable historic life has touched nearly the half of universal history.

We do not pretend that our conclusions have definitely solved the question of Gypsy nationality: we believe, however, that at least they will not be useless; in any case, they are not arbitrary, since they are based upon materials studied in a quantity never yet possessed by any of the scientific explorers of the Gypsy race. The next study of these materials, made from all points of view and according to a plan previously sketched, can only, in all likelihood,

[1] I fail to understand the author's meaning here.—I. K.

confirm the conclusions that we have just stated, and will render it possible to make still larger inductions on the subject of the history and ethnography of the Gypsies.

As the conclusion of our account, we give the description of four Gypsy amulets relating to their primitive religion, and also a cabalistic token that, according to Gypsy belief, brings good luck to the bearer of it.

The amulets are made of wrought-iron, and belong to M. Kounavine. The cabalistic sign is designed by ourselves, thanks to the amiability of a Gypsy *djecmas* (sorcerer) of the province of Novgorod, who offered us this talisman in return for our munificent gift. The amulet *A* was found by M. Kounavine among the Gypsies who roam with their camps in the Ural neighbourhood; some Bessarabian Gypsies supplied amulet *B*; *C* was obtained from a Gypsy sorcerer of the Persian frontier, and *D* formed part of some ornaments placed upon their dead by some Gypsies of Southern Russia.

The cabalistic sign represents roughly a serpent, the symbol of Anromori, the evil principle in Gypsy mythology. The figure of an arch, surrounded with stars, is, according to M. Kounavine, held by the Gypsies as symbolising the earth; the meaning of the triangle △ is not known. The moon and stars which surround the earth, and which are, so to speak, enclosed in the serpent's coils, symbolise the world lying in evil. This sign is engraved by the Gypsies upon the plates of the harness of the horses, of garments, and as designed ornaments: they are also made of metal and wood.

Amulet *A*, which represents also the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, and a serpent, can equally serve as a symbol of the universe. According to M. Kounavine, Omoni and Anromori are symbolised upon this amulet. Amulet *B* represents a man surrounded by a halo, aided by the moon and the stars, and armed with a sword and arrows. Beneath is represented the horse: the serpent symbolises Anromori. As a whole, this amulet therefore represents the conflict between the good and the evil principle, Jandra against Anromori.

Amulet *C* represents a gleaming star and the serpent, and is called Baramy, symbolising, according to M. Kounavine, the Gypsy proto-divinity.

Amulet *D*, which represents a flaming pyre and some hieroglyphics, may also symbolise the prayer addressed to the divinity of the fire.

A. B. ELYSSEEFF.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE GYPSIES, Based upon M. Kounavine's Philological Researches.

GROUP I.

Eastern Gypsies.

Of the North-East entered Europe by the way of the Northern nations, and those inhabiting Turan.

- The Turanian Gypsies proper.
- The Gypsies of Eastern Russia.

Uralian Gypsies.

Scandinavian Gypsies.

Of the South-East entered Europe by the Isthmus of Caucasus and those inhabiting Iran.

- The Iranian Gypsies proper.
- The Gypsies of the Caucasus.

The Gypsies of the Plains of Southern Russia.

Gypsies of the Don.

GROUP II.

Western Gypsies.

Of the Further West entered Europe by the way of Sicily and Calabria from the remote coasts of Africa.

- Spanish and Basque Gypsies.
- Italian Gypsies.

The Gypsies of Western France.

Of the Nearer West entered Europe by the Ægean Archipelago, the Ionian Islands, and Asia Minor.

- English and Greek Gypsies.
- Austrian Gypsies.

Roumanian Gypsies.

- Hungarian Gypsies.
- Polish Gypsies.

The Gypsies of Western Russia.

SKETCH MAP

INDICATING THE

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION of the GYPSIES IN THE ANCIENT WORLD.

Designed in Conformity with Kounavine's "Materials"

BY A. B. ELYSSEEFF.

NE = CAMPS OF THE NORTH-EAST.
SE = ,, SOUTH-EAST.
W = ,, WEST.
WW = ,, FURTHER WEST.

NE.

NE.

SE.

SE.

Line of Separation between Eastern and Western Gypsies.

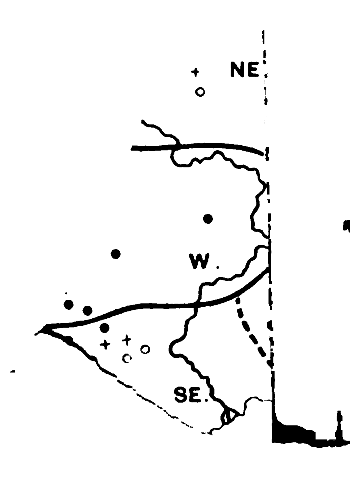
Line of separation between Gypsies of the North-East and South-East.

Line of separation between Western Gypsies and those of the Further West.

○ ○ ○ *Indicate approximately the places where the Gypsies have most preserved the traces of their primitive condition and religious beliefs.*

+ + + *Indicate the places where the Gypsies have furnished at least some songs, tales, and charms with mythological features.*

● ● ● *Indicate places where only fragmentary and confused traces of a primitive mythology have been found.*


NE
W.
SE.

VI.—SCOTTISH GYPSIES UNDER THE STEWARTS.

INTENDED in some measure as a complement to Mr. Crofton's *English Gypsies under the Tudors*,[1] this paper and those which will follow it will cover a much wider period of time than that (1485-1603) during which the Tudor dynasty governed England. For the monarchs of the Stewart line maintained their rule[2] over Scotland for nearly three hundred and fifty years (1371-1714), a period which may well be regarded as the most interesting in the history of the Scottish Gypsies. And although Mr. Crofton's admirable system of adhering to the citation of authentic documents, without much comment or speculation thereon, will also be followed in these pages as far as possible, there will nevertheless be some extra latitude allowed in this respect also.

The feature last referred to will be more perceptible in the present paper than in its successors. For, before beginning to cite those references which unquestionably relate to Gypsies, some remarks of a more general nature are necessary.

The belief presently held by most students of the Gypsies is that the fifteenth century marks the date of their first appearance in Western Europe; and it is certain that no evidence has yet been produced to show that the term "Gypsy" or "Egyptian" was used before that date in that part of Europe. But there is this to be considered, that genuine Gypsies have often been spoken of as "tinkers" (*chaudronniers*) on account of the occupation with which they have long been associated; and that, although there is no known mention of "Gypsies" in the British Islands prior to the fifteenth century, there are many earlier references to "tinkers," or "tinklers," as they are called in Scotland.

One cannot do better than quote Mr. Crofton at this point. "It is at present by no means certain when the Gypsies made their first appearance in England. . . . *Tinkler* can be traced back to about the year 1200. *Tinker* and *Tinkler* were not uncommon titles at that time. Between the years 1165 and 1214 *James 'Tinkler'* held land in the town of Perth (*Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, Edinburgh, 1843); in 1265 '*Editha le Tynekere*' lived at Wallingford, in Berkshire (*Hist. MSS. Com. 6th Report*, 1878); in 1273 a '*Tincker*' and '*William de Tyneker*' lived in Huntingdonshire (Lower's *Patronym. Brit.* from

[1] Manchester, 1880: reproduced and amended under the title of *Early Annals of the Gypsies in England*, in vol. i. of our Journal, pp. 5-24.

[2] Except for the brief interregnum of 1649-1660.

Hund. Rot.); and before 1294 '*Ralph Tincler*' had a house at Morpeth, in Northumberland (*Hist. MSS. Com. 6th Report*, 1878). All these seem to have had fixed abodes, and not to have been of the same itinerant class with which we now associate all tinkers, and which used to require the epithet 'wandering' to distinguish them."[1] To the same purpose as the opinion expressed in this last sentence is Mr. Crofton's observation made elsewhere,[2] that "all Gypsies may be pedlars, brasiers, or tinkers, but the reverse may not follow."

While it is quite true that although many Gypsies are tinkers yet all tinkers are not necessarily Gypsies, an argument which applies to the past as well as to the present, it must be pointed out that the possession of a fixed abode does not preclude the "tinker" from being also a "Gypsy." As an illustration of this we have the case of a well-known Scottish Gypsy of last century, who was the possessor and occupier of a house in the small town of Biggar, Lanarkshire.[3] That this man was a representative of the caste known as "tinklers" or "Gypsies" there can be no doubt. If he was not a Gypsy, then Simson's *History* (which certainly construes that word too liberally) is altogether erroneously named, and none of the people described by him were really Gypsies. A similar instance is that of William Marshall, whom Sir Walter Scott refers to[4] as "the Caird [Tinker] of Barullion, King of the Gypsies of the Western Lowlands," who is pictured as living in a cottage at Polnure, in Galloway, in 1789.[5] Now, both of these men, who were undoubtedly Gypsies if Scotland contained any Gypsies during the eighteenth century, combined the position of house-dweller with that of vagrant. Many similar modern examples, in the British Islands and on the Continent, might be adduced; but that would lead us from the point. What is of more importance is to observe that the two house-dwelling "tinkers" just mentioned were not exceptional specimens of their class. A whole street at Kirk-Yetholm was called "Tinkler Row," because it was inhabited entirely by those very people who

[1] *Tudors*, pp. 1-2.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, July 8, 1876 (5th Series, vi.).

[3] This was Matthew Baillie, son of the Matthew Baillie who figures in Simson's *History of the Gypsies* (pp. 196-228). His house is mentioned in *Biggar and the House of Fleming* (Edinburgh, 1867, pp. 413-14), where it is stated that "the back entrance has his initials, M. B., and the date 1752, along with the letters M. E., C. I., and a mason's mark. The title-deeds bear that the property was disponed to 'Matthew Baillie, indweller in Biggar, and Margaret Campbell, his spouse, in conjunct fee and liferent, and to John Baillie, eldest son of the said Matthew Baillie by his first marriage, in fee as to one half, and to Rachel and Elizabeth Baillie, daughters of the said Matthew Baillie and Margaret Campbell, as to the other half.'"

[4] In his "Additional Note" to *Guy Mannering*.

[5] *Blackwood's Magazine*, August 1817.

spent their summers as *wandering* tinkers. Mention may also be made of a Tinkler Row in Edinburgh and a Tinkler Row in Newcastle,[1] while an allusion made by an English writer of the sixteenth century shows that certain streets in Southwark, London, were then inhabited by tinkers.[2] But, in the absence of any strong indication that the inhabitants of those streets in the towns just named were not merely sedentary tinsmiths, these examples may be passed over. It is sufficient to remark that the dwellers in the "Tinkler Row" of Kirk-Yetholm were those very people who, living a nomadic life during the greater part of the year, have always been regarded as most unquestionably Scottish Gypsies.

Of these Yetholm "tinklers" a writer of the year 1847 says: "They have physical marks in their dusky complexion, their Hindoo features, and their black penetrating eyes, peculiar to themselves, and still broader peculiarities of a moral kind . . . which defy all doubt as to their being in a very emphatic sense Gypsies."[3] If this writer is to be trusted, these Yetholm "tinklers" were racially Gypsies; but it ought to be stated that these people are now dispersed, and therefore nothing can be done in the way of verifying this description, which is not borne out by the complexion of the late "Queen Esther," or her still surviving daughter. Nevertheless, the testimony of the writer of 1847 is quite in agreement with that obtained by Mr. Hoyland thirty years earlier. "So strongly remarkable is the [Yetholm] Gypsey cast of countenance, that even a description of them to a stranger, who has had no opportunity of formerly seeing them, will enable him to know them wherever he meets with them." "The progeny of such alliances [marriages between Yetholm Gypsies and non-Gypsies] have almost universally the tawny complexion and fine black eyes of the Gypsey parent, whether father or mother." Moreover, the Yetholm language, as recorded by Baird and Simson, is so clearly a dialect of Romanes, that it entirely bears out the belief that at one time or another those Kirk-Yetholm people and their language were essentially Gypsy.

"I have known the colony between forty and fifty years," says a

[1] Referred to in Richardson's *Local Historian's Table Book*, London, 1844, vol. iv. p. 207.

[2] See *The Rogues and Vagabonds of Shakspere's Youth*, compiled by Messrs. Viles and Furnivall for the Early English Text Society, reprint of 1880, pp. 35 and 59. The sixteenth-century writer (Harman) there quoted states that in order to recover a caldron of his which had been stolen he sent one of his men to London, "and there gave warning in Sothwarke, Kent Strete, and Barmesey Streete, to all the Tynckars there dwelling, that if any such caudron came thether to be sold, the bringar thereof should be stayed, and promised twenty shyllings for a reward."

[3] *Gazetteer of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1847, *s.v.* "Kirk-Yetholm."

writer of about the year 1816.[1] "At my first remembrance of them they were called the *Tinklers* (Tinkers) of Yetholm, from the males being chiefly then employed in mending pots and other culinary utensils, especially in their peregrinations through the hilly and less populous parts of the country. . . . Their residence . . . is at Kirk-Yetholm, and chiefly confined to one row of houses or street of that town, which goes by the name of Tinkler Row. Most of them have leases of their possessions, granted for a term of nineteen times nineteen years, for payment of a small sum yearly, something of the nature of a quit-rent. There is no tradition in the neighbourhood concerning the time when the Gypsies first took up their residence at that place, nor whence they came. Most of their leases, I believe, were granted by the family of the Bennets of Grubet, the last of whom was Sir David Bennet, who died about sixty years ago."

In order to understand still better the position of these people, it is necessary that the following additional statement, by the same writer, be quoted:—

"I remember that about forty-five years ago [about 1770], being then apprentice to a writer [solicitor],[2] who was in use to receive the rents as well as the small duties of Kirk-Yetholm, he sent me there with a list of names, and a statement of what was due; recommending me to apply to the landlord of the public-house, in the village, for any information or assistance which I might need.

"After waiting a long time, and receiving payment from most of the feuers, or rentallers, I observed to him that none of the persons of the names of Faa, Young, Blythe, Fleckie, etc., who stood at the bottom of the list for small sums, had come to meet me, according to the notice given by the Baron Officer; and proposed sending to inform them that they were detaining me, and to request their immediate attendance.

"The landlord, with a grave face, inquired whether my master had desired me to ask money from those men. I said, 'Not particularly; but they stood on the list.' 'So I see,' said the landlord; 'but had your master been here himself, he did *not dare to ask money from them, either as rent or feu-duty. He knows that it is as good as if it were in his pocket. They will pay when their own time comes, but do not like to pay at a set time with the rest of the Barony; and still less to be craved.*"[3]

"I accordingly returned without their money, and reported progress. I found that the landlord was right. My master said with a smile that it was unnecessary to send to them, after the previous notice from the Baron Officer; it was enough if I had received the money, if offered. Their rent and feu-duty was brought to the office in a few weeks. I need scarcely add, those persons all belonged to the tribe."

From these extracts, then, it will be seen that the Yetholm Gypsies of 1770 were a privileged class, holding their allotments, or cottages, "for payment of a small sum yearly; something of the

[1] Quoted by Hoyland in his *Historical Survey of the Gypsies*, York, 1816, p. 98 *et seq.*

[2] Evidently in the neighbouring town of Kelso.

[3] Italicised in original.

nature of a quit-rent." No pressure was brought to bear upon them, as upon the other tenants, when they did not come forward with their rents upon the stated day. And these possessions were held upon leases granted by the former lords of the manor, whose line ended about the year 1755; and these leases were issued for the long period of three hundred and sixty-one years.

Although other interesting accounts might be quoted with regard to the Yetholm Gypsies, if our present limits permitted, it is enough to pass from the statements just made to the consideration of another section of the same people, situated also in southern Scotland.

"The name of *Tinkler* continues to be found in old charters to a comparatively late period," says one writer,[1] in the course of a discussion upon this question. "Thus it appears in an old charter, of which I have an extract before me, referring to the lands not far from Hightae, where the Gipsies—the Faas, the Kennedys, etc., 'the King's kindly tenants,' as they were called—long lived, and where some of their descendants, I believe, are still living. The charter is dated May 31, 1439, the third year of James II. It is by John Halliday of Hodholm (now Hoddam), by which he wadsetts [mortgages] his lands called Holcroft, a coteland, which was sometime belonging to William de Johnstone, and two oxgangs of land, which are called the *Tynkler's* lands, in the tenement of Hodholm and lordship of Annandail, to John de Carrutheris, Laird of Mousewald, for 10 l., money lent him 'in his grete myserie,' dated Mousewald."[2]

This evidence of Mr. Ramage's, if it be reliable throughout, is certainly the most important contribution to this question. The mere mention of "the Tynkler's lands" in a charter of 1439 is, taken by itself, of minor importance; because we have already seen that there are references of that kind as early as the twelfth century. But when Mr. Ramage implies that the Tinklers there alluded to were of the well-known Scotch Gypsy tribes of Faa and Kennedy, and that these Faas and Kennedys were no other than "the king's kindly tenants" of Lochmaben, he points to the residence of Gypsies in that part of Scotland as far back as an era that might almost be styled "prehistoric." We know that the district he speaks of, which is included under the more comprehensive name of

[1] Mr. C. T. Ramage; *Notes and Queries*, January 15, 1876 (5th Series, v.).

[2] The remainder of Mr. Ramage's statements in this place may as well be given here, since it furnishes another though a more modern instance of the same kind. He adds: "The name also *Tynkellaris* Maling [*i.e.* Tinkler's mailing or farm, from the word *mail*= rent], near Inchinnan, appears in an old document, dated April 23, 1530, in a dispute between the Countess Dowager of Lennox and John Sympill of Fulwod, quoted by Sir W. Fraser in his work entitled *The Lennox* (vol. ii. p. 235)."

Lochmaben, had a large Gypsy population in the eighteenth century.[1] And Mr. Ramage says, in effect, that this population was no other than the peculiar and privileged caste known as "the king's kindly tenants."

The "kindly tenants" of mediæval Scotland are defined as "feudal tenants, termed *kindly*, from the circumstance of their being *natives*, born on those lands which had been possessed by their ancestors for many generations. Such persons were seldom ejected, so long as they paid the almost nominal rents of those lands, which they were thus permitted to occupy by a sort of hereditary title, after the decease of the former tenant. They were styled *Nativi* in old charters."[2]

Such were "kindly tenants" in general. Those specially known as "the king's kindly tenants of Lochmaben" are thus mentioned by Sir Walter Scott:—

"I cannot dismiss the subject of Lochmaben without noticing an extraordinary and anomalous class of landed proprietors, who dwell in the neighbourhood of that burgh. These are the inhabitants of four small villages, near the ancient castle, called the Four Towns of Lochmaben. They themselves are termed the king's rentallers, or kindly tenants; under which denomination each of them has a right, of an allodial nature, to a small piece of ground. It is said that these people are the descendants of Robert Bruce's menials, to whom he assigned, in reward of their faithful service, these portions of land, burdened only with the payment of certain quit-rents, and grassums, or fines, upon the entry of a new tenant. . . . . This possession, by rental, or by simple entry upon the rent-roll, was anciently a common and peculiarly sacred species of property granted by a chief to his faithful followers. . . . Fortunately for the inhabitants of the Four Towns of Lochmaben the maxim that the king can never die prevents their right of property from reverting to the Crown. . . . [An attempt having been made last century to dispossess them] the rentallers united in their common defence; and, having stated their immemorial possession, together with some favourable clauses in certain old Acts of Parliament, enacting that the king's poor kindly tenants of Lochmaben should not be hurt, they finally prevailed in an action before the Court of Session. . . . The kindly tenants of Lochmaben live (or at least lived till lately) much sequestered from their neighbours, marry among themselves, and are distinguished from each other by sobriquets, according to the ancient Border custom. You meet among their writings with such names as John Out-bye, Will In-bye, White-fish, Red-fish, etc. They are tenaciously obstinate in defence of their privileges of commonty, etc., which are numerous. Their lands are, in general, neatly enclosed and well cultivated, and they form a contented and industrious little community.

"Many of these particulars are extracted from MSS. of Mr. Syme, writer to the signet. Those who are desirous of more information may consult Craig, *De Feudis*, lib. ii., dig. 9, sec. 24."[3]

[1] *Simson*, p. 381 *n*. "Some of these villages [in the south of Scotland] are almost entirely occupied by Gypsies. James Hogg is reported, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, to say that Lochmaben is 'stocked' with them."

[2] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Edinburgh, 1833, vol. iii. p. 366 *n*.

[3] *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*; note to "The Lochmaben Harper."

To Scott's account may be added a reference to another writer, who states that the ancestors of "kindly tenants" in general were of the class of "*villeyns* (*adscripti glebæ*), . . . literally *slaves*," and that those of Lochmaben were probably freed at the end of the thirteenth century; after which "they got the name of *free tenants*, and afterwards the king's *kindly tenants*." This writer mentions the principal surnames of those Lochmaben people, among which are many well-known South-Scottish names, common to Gypsies and to non-Gypsies. It is noteworthy that he does not include the name of "Faa" among these.[1]

Neither of the writers last quoted give any hint that they regarded "the king's kindly tenants of Lochmaben" as Gypsies, or even as tinkers. This silence is undoubtedly not to be ignored. On the other hand, James Hogg, who was intimately acquainted with the Scottish Borderland, states that Lochmaben was "stocked" with Gypsies; while Mr. Ramage says outright that those "kindly tenants" were Gypsies, and had dwelt there from time immemorial. What is even more important is the fact that this peculiar Lochmaben caste existed on a footing nearly identical with that of the Yetholm Gypsies. In either case, we have a privileged class of "rentallers," holding their property on "an almost nominal rent," and understood to have occupied that position for an unknown number of centuries.

When, therefore, the peculiar position and unknown history of the Yetholm "Tinklers" is considered, together with the peculiarities attaching to the possibly kindred caste at Lochmaben, and with the known existence of "Tinklers" in Scotland as far back as the twelfth century (as witnessed by documents—not to speak of tradition and archæology)—it is difficult to avoid the deduction that Gypsies were known in Scotland as early as the twelfth century. *Only*, it is necessary to prove first that "Tinkler" is truly synonymous with "Gypsy."

And this is very far from being proved at present. There is no doubt that "tinker" or "tinkler" has very often been employed as equivalent to "Gypsy." For example, the parish of Eaglesham, in Renfrewshire, is stated to have been formerly much "oppressed" by "Gypsies, commonly called tinklers, or randy beggars."[2] And the writer of an article in an Edinburgh journal of the year 1818 speaks of "the Gypsies, or *Tinklers*, as they are generally called

[1] For this reference see *Lochmaben Five Hundred Years Ago*, by the Rev. W. Graham, Edinburgh, 1865, ch. vii. See also Bell's *Dictionary of the Law of Scotland*, 7th ed., Edinburgh, 1890; *s.v.* "Kindly Tenants, or Rentallers," and "Lochmaben."

[2] *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1791, vol. ii. 124.

in the county of Lanark." Of this usage there can be no question. Further, the swarthy complexion of the "tinkler" is seen, for example, in the song which Simson gives as sung by Scottish peasant-mothers to their babies—

"Hush ye, hush ye, dinna fret ye,
The *black* Tinkler winna get ye."

Nevertheless, distinct evidence has not hitherto been produced to show that the "tinkler" of the centuries preceding the fifteenth was of swarthy complexion, and those who are disposed to believe that he was not are quite entitled to assume that incoming Gypsies of true Romani blood have leavened an earlier white-skinned "tinker" stock within the last three or four centuries.

Equal doubt attaches to certain references which Mr. Crofton and others have assumed as possibly, if not probably, indicating Gypsies; for example, an Act of the Scottish Parliament of the year 1449 directed against "sorners [people who forcibly quartered themselves upon others], over-liers, and masterful beggars, with horse, hounds, or other goods." This Act, it has been pointed out,[1] aims at a class answering to the earlier Gypsies of the Continent, as described by Krantz; and there is no doubt that the comparison is a true one. Moreover, we find that when "Egyptians" eventually come to be named in the Scottish Acts of Parliament, the Act directed against them is also directed against people addicted to the habits which the edict of 1449 aims at suppressing. Not only that, but these habits, and other characteristics of such people, are precisely the habits and characteristics of the Scottish Gypsies as these are portrayed in Simson's *History*. But, again, this difficulty occurs. If we accept the Act of 1449 as referring to Gypsies, although it does not *name* them, then there is no reason why we should limit ourselves to so modern a date as 1449 for evidence of the presence of Gypsies in Scotland, because there are very good grounds for believing that the class of people legislated against in 1449 had existed in Scotland for a long period prior to that date. Whether such people were really *Gypsies* has never been convincingly demonstrated.

Thus, after consideration of the various statements made above, the point to be established seems to be this—Did Gypsies inhabit Scotland for a much longer period than is popularly supposed, although (for one reason or another) they are not designated by the name of "Egyptian" until the fifteenth century? Or did they enter

[1] Vol. i. of our *Journal*, p. 6.

Scotland for the first time in the fifteenth century, and, finding there an already-existing caste of nomadic, "magic-working" tinkers, muggers, pedlars, ballad-singers, mountebanks, etc. (as unquestionably there was), proceed to affiliate themselves with those castes, whom they eventually leavened to a considerable degree with Romani blood and Romani speech? As a matter of personal opinion I may say that the former of these two questions is the one which, for various reasons, I am disposed to answer in the affirmative. But those who take the opposite view have much to say in support of their belief. It is certainly the case that no instance of the application of the term "Gypsy" or "Egyptian" to any caste within the British Islands at any period preceding the fifteenth century has yet been brought to light.

Having thus considered, to at least as great an extent as our space allows, the question of Gypsy-like castes not styled "Gypsies" or "Egyptians," we may pass on to examine the various references to people so designated. DAVID MACRITCHIE.

(*To be continued.*)

VII.—A VOCABULARY OF THE SLOVAK-GYPSY DIALECT.

By R. von Sowa.

(*Continued.*)

L.

Labárd'i, S., s. f. (in none of the other dialects; cf. Mod. Greek λαβρίζω, to glow, to burn; λαβράδιον, hot place), brandy. *Avl'om ande yekh kapal'i he mangl'om mange trine brusňárenge labárd'i*—I went into an inn and asked for brandy for three kreuzers.

Lábňikos, S., s. m. (vlg. Slov. (?) from the Germ. *Laib*), loaf (of bread).

Lachárav, *M.; *lacharav*, M. W. (Gr. wanting; Hng., Bhm.), Ješ. 3, 85 (=Sl.), to make ready, put up (a bed).

Lácho, M. W., K., S., adj.; comp. *feder*, sup. *naifeder* (Gr. *lacho*; comp. *lacheder*; Hng., Bhm.=Sl.), good. *Lácho lau*, an old, "deep" Gypsy word.

láches, adv. comp. *feder*, well; *kerau láches*, to benefit, S. *Auka amenge avla feder*—So it will be better for us. Often *láches* is used in the context of a tale, meaning: Well, then. *Imár avel o drakos*; *láches*, *uzh mange o drakos kamel te xal*—Already the dragon comes; well, then, the dragon already desires to eat me.

Ládi-jau, M. W., vb. itr. (Mikl., M. W. xii. 83, refers *ládi* to Gr. *lodava*, to dwell), to go to live with. *Yavas ládi ki-y-o roma*—That we may go and live with the Gypsies, M.

Laj, *lach*, S., *lách*, M. W., s. f. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. *laj*), shame, dishonour. *You has igen, lakr ad, and-e bári laj*—He, her father, was much ashamed.

Lajavau man, S., vb. refl. (Gr. *lajava*; Hng. *lajav*; Bhm. *lajav man*), to be ashamed, to be afraid. *Yoi pes ńikastar na lajalas*—He was not afraid of anybody.

Lakom, S., adv. (Slov.?), slowly (?) *Har hi te denáshel, chak lakom al'ebo svalom?*—How ought he to fly, but slowly or quickly? (cf. *svalom*).

Land'árau, a., S., vb. itr. (Gr. wanting; Rm. *nayarau*, tr.; *nayovau*, itr.; Bhm. *land'óvaŭ*, to knead, to sleep—Ješ. 65), to bathe. *Papale oda trin rákl'a gêle and-o ribńikos te land'árel*—Then the three girls went into the pond to bathe.

Lántsitsi, *M., s. m. pl. (cf. the following), chain.

Lántsos, M. W., S., s. m. (Mag. *láncz*), chain.

Lau, S. *lav*, K., s. m. (Gr., Bhm. *lav*; Hng. *alav*, word, name), word.

Lau, S.; *lav*, *ilav*, K., vb. tr. pf.; *il'om*, *l'el'om*, S.; *l'il'om*, M. (Gr. *lava*; pt. *lino*; Hng. *lav*; pf. *liyom*; Bhm. *lav*; pt. pf. *lilo*). 1. To take, to seize: *Le tuke so me dau*—Take what I give you. *Kana avl'as oda drakos, pále la il'as*—When the dragon came (then) he seized her. 2. To obtain: *Inách hi rákl'a jungáleder h-o romes len*—In other cases girls are uglier and marry, nevertheless (lit. obtain a husband). 3. To begin: *Ke rát'i desh óri ile o roma te bashavel*—In the evening at ten o'clock, the Gypsies began to make music. *Lau man*—To rise, to make one's-self ready. *Pes il'as yekh medvyed'is he yekha lishkaha*—There rose a bear, together with a fox.

Lauta, *lavuta*, S., s. f. (Mod. Greek λαοῦτα; Rum. *lautǎ*; Gr. *lauta*, p. 330; Hng. *lavuta*; Bhm. wanting), lute.

Lautaris, *lavutáris*, S.; *lavotáris*, M. W., s. m.; Rum. *lǎutarŭ*), musician.

Lóko, S., adj. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. *loko*). 1. Light: *Kana hi lóki kashtuńi rovl'i*—For it is a light wooden stick. 2. Easy: *Lókes te vakerel*—Easily said. Cf. s. *xudau*; *Polókes*, *polokóres*, s., slowly.

Lólo, S., M. W. (Gr., Hng. *lolo*; Hng., Bhm. *lólo*), red, brown. *Lólo chiriklo*, eagle (lit. brown bird).

Lon, S., s. m. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), salt.

Lopata, S., s. f. (Slov. *lopata*), shovel.

Lót'au, S., vb. itr., and

Lót'ovau, S.; *lot'ovav*, M. W., vb. itr. tr. (Gr., Hng. wanting; Bhm. *lot'óvav*, Ješ. 66), to be delivered of a child. *Kana lót'il'as, ehas o chávoro báro*—When she was delivered, the child was large. *Yekhe shukáre printso lot'il'as*—A pretty prince was born; Mikl., M. W., xii. 80.

Lóve, M. W., S., s. m. pl. (Gr. *lovo*; Bhm. *lóvo*, coin; Hng. = Sl.), money; cf. s. *báro*.

Luftos, S., s. m. (Germ. *Luft*, but heard sometimes even in vlg. Slov.), air.

Lukestáno, M. W., adj. (from the following. The adj. is not noted in Gr., Hng., Bhm.), military. *Lukestáno máro*, military service (lit. soldiers' bread, cf. s. *sasikáno*). In the sentence, *Oda terno kralis phend'as peske lukestáne máreske*—That young king told his soldiers, M., it is used as a collective term for "soldiers."

Lukesto, M., S., s. m. (Gr., Bhm. wanting; Hng. = Sl.), soldier.

L'.

Lados (r. *l'ados*), K., s. m. (Slov. *l'ad*), ice.

L'azhinav, M. W., vb. tr. (Slov. The original is not known to me), to breed, to yean.

L'ebo, S., conj. (Slov. *lebo*), for; used as in Slov.

L'egedav, s. *l'ijau*.

L'eketa, M. W., s. f., and

L'eketova, *M., s. f. (Mag. *elökötö*; Bhm. *leketova*), apron.

L'en, S., s. f. (Gr., Rm., Bhm. *len*; Hng. not noted), rivulet, river.

L'encha, S., s. f. (Mag. *lencse*), lentil.

L'enunkos, S., s. f. (vlg. Slov. *lenunk*; Germ. *Löhnung*), pay (of a soldier).

L'esh, K., S., conj. (Slov. *lieš*), though, but; used as in Slov.

L'et'inav, M., *letinav*, M. W., vb. itr. (Slov. *letet'*), to fly.

L'ijau, S.; *lijav*, M. W., K.; *legedav*, cf. *legedińas*, Mikl., M. W., x. 418

vb. tr. 3 ps. pres. sg.; *l'ijal*, pl.; *l'ijan*, S., pf.; *l'iged'om*, S. (Gr., Rm. wanting; Hng. *lejav*; Bhm. *lijav*), to carry, to bring. *Yon peske jánle o manusha, hoi l'ijan báles*—They meant the people, that they (the robbers) carry a hog.

L'ijávav, K., vb. tr. (Gr., Hng. *lejavav*), to bring, to carry.

L'il, S., s. m. (Gr. *lir*; Gr., Hng., Bhm. *lil*; Bhm. meaning: passport), letter, billet.

L'iloro, S., s. m. (dim. of the same), note billet.

L'inai, *M., s. m. (Gr. *nilai*; Hng. *nilai*; Bhm. = Sl.), summer.
linaye, in summer time, M. W.

L'ind'ra, S.; *indra*, M. W., s. f. (Gr. *lindr*; Hng. *lindri*; Bhm. *lindra*, Ješ. 385), sleep, slumber; cf. s. *báro*.

L'indral'ovav, M. W., K.; *indral'ovav*, M. W.; *indral'ovau*, S., vb. itr. (Gr., Hng. wanting; Bhm. *lindral'óvav*, Ješ. 385), to slumber.

L'ishaika, S., s. f. (Slov. *lišajka*), butterfly.

L'ishka, S., s. f. (*liška*), fox.

L'it'hi, S.; *lichi*, M. W., s. f. (Gr., Rm., wanting; Bhm. *lit'hi*), tree, fruit-tree, S.; beech-tree, M. W.

L'ubinau-man, S., vb. refl. (Slov. *l'ubit'sa*), to please.

L'úto, S.; *l'uto*, K., adv. (Slov. *l'úto*), sorry; (Germ. *leid*). *Leske igen hi l'úto pal late*—He is very sorry for her.

M.

Ma, M. W., K., S., adv. (Gr, Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), not, don't (prohibitive). *Ma dara!*—Don't fear. *Ańi mange hiyaba ma vaker*—But don't speak to me in vain.

Machiki, S., s. pl. (Mag. *mácsik*, kind of farinaceous food), dumplings.

Mácho, S.; *macho*, M. W., s. m. (Gr., Hng. *macho*; Bhm. *mácho*), fish.

Maxos, M. W., S., s. m. (Slov. *mach*), moss.

Maistros, S., s. m. (Slov. *majster*, from Germ.), master.

Maitkos, S., s. m. (Slov. *majetok*), property, fortune.

Mal'ina, S., s. f. (Slov. *malina*), raspberry.

Mamuxóri, *M s. f., sloe-tree.

Mamui, K., prp. (Gr., Bhm. = Sl., Hng. wanting), toward, opposite. *Yavas mamuye* (= *mamui e*) *dai*—Let us go to meet mother, K.

Mangados, *mangado*, M. W. (cf. *mangadoskéro*, *mangadeste*, *mangadéya*), s. m. adj. (from the following, concerning the form, cf. *chingerdo*), 1. beggar; 2. of or belonging to a beggar. *Mangade handri*, beggars' clothes.

Mangau, S., vb. tr. itr. (Gr. *mangava*; Hng., Bhm. *mangav*), to beg (for). *Mangl'as peske ole rastar yekhe grastes*—He begged the gentleman for a horse. *Papales lestar mangel: ax saso mro, de man vareso*—Again he begged him: Oh, my soldier, give me something!

Mánush, S.; *manush*, K., s. m. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. *manush*), man. Whilst *gajo* is opposite to *rom*, *mánush* means a man in general. *Tu sal lácho mánush*—You are a good man.

Manushálo, S., adj. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. wanting), of a man. *Manushálo mas*—Flesh of a man.

Manushano, *a.*, M. W., adj. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. wanting: Gr. forming *manushikano*), of a man.

Manushńi, M. W., S., s. f. (Gr., Hng. *manushni*; Bhm. = Sl.), woman (in general). *E phúri manushńi dińas peske* (*pes?*) *mri devles*—The old woman prayed to God.

Manushóro, S., s. m. (dim. of *mánush*), man.

Mar. See *imár*.

Marau, S.; *marav*, M. W., K., vb. tr. pt. pf.; *márdo*, S.; *mardo*, *madlo*, M. W. (Gr. *márava*; Hng. *marav*; Bhm. *márav*). 1. To beat, to strike, to punish (God): *Ma keren lake odova, l'ebo amen mro devel márla*—Don't injure her (lit. make her that), for God would (will) punish us.[1] 2.

[1] In other dialects this verb means also "to kill"; cf. Engl. G. *mor*, *morova*, Smart-Crofton's *D. of the E. G.*, p. 111; Span. G. *marar*, *marelar*, D. G. de C. *D. del dial. Git.* p. 143; Germ. *márava*, Liebich, *Die Zig.* p. 145, and others. That meaning it has not yet obtained in the Eastern dialects.

To sting, S.: *Suventsa tut márna*—They will sting thee with needles.

Márd'ovau, a., S., vb. itr. (Gr. *mard'ovava*; Hng., Bhm. not noted), to be beaten. *Bizo me igen márd'il'om*—Indeed, I have been been beaten very much.

Mariashikos, a., M. W., s. m., cake.

Máriben, M. W., s. m. (Gr., Hng. *maribe*; Bhm. *mariben*), battle, fight.

Marne, a., K., adv., to-morrow; not confirmed by my Gypsies.

Márňinau, S., vb. tr. (Slov. *márnit'*), to lavish, to squander.

Máro, M., S.; *maro*, K., s. m. (Gr. *manro, marno, máro*), bread; cf. s. *lukestáno, sasikáno*.

Maróro, K., s. m. (dim. of *máro*), bread.

Mas, K., S., s. m. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), flesh.

Masáris (concluded from the following), S.; *mesáris*, M. W. (*mesára*, nom. pl.), s. m. (Slov. *mäsiar*), butcher.

Masársko, S., adj. (Slov. *mäsiarský*), of or belonging to a butcher. *Masársko tovarishis*, butcher's boy.

Mast'i, ? M. W. (the nom. not stated; cf. *mast'atar*, obl. sg.), s. f. (Slov. *mast'*), salve, unguent.

Mashkár, M.; *mashkar*, S.; *mashkera*, K., prp.; Gr. *maskare*; Hng., Bhm. *mashkar*. 1. Among: *Akauka mashkár peste vakernas*—Thus among themselves they talked, M. *Avel mashkar o bibolde*—He comes among the Jews, M. W. 2. Between.

Mashkaral, a., S., adv. prp. (Gr. *maskaral*; Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), from the midst.

Mashkáre, M. W., S., adv. (Gr. *maskare*; Hng., Bhm. wanting?), in the midst. *Mashkáre pr-o kher*—In the midst of the house, M. W.

Mashkarúno, S.; *mashkarono*, M. W., adj. (Gr. cf. *maskarutno*; Hng., Bhm. wanting), middle.

Mat'arav, M. W., vb. tr. (Gr. *matt'arava*; Hng. = Sl.; Bhm. not noted), to intoxicate.

Mát'ovau, S., *mat'ovau*, M. W., vb. itr. (Gr. *matt'ovava*; Hng. *mat'ovav*; Bhm. *mat'óvav*), to get drunk. *Mat'ovau man*, M. W., to intoxicate one's-self.

Mát'hi, máchi, S.; *mati*, M. W., s. f. (Gr. *maki*; Hng. *mat'i*; Bhm. *mat'hin*), fly, bee, every winged insect. *Yoi géri mosi te has t'ixo sar mat'hi*—She, the unlucky (girl) must have been silent like a fly. The mole was described by a Gypsy, probably ignorant of its appearance, as *Mát'hi k-and-e phuu xanel*, a fly that digs in the earth.

Mát'hori, S., s. f. (dim. of the same), fly, gnat, insect.[1]

Matsoxa, M. W., s. f. (Sl. *macocha*), stepmother.

Mayoris, S., s. m. (Slov. *majór*, from Germ.), major.

Me, M. K., S.; *mame*? *K. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. *me*), I. *Mamé*, *K., occurs in *Mame tutar na ácháha*—I will not stay with thee. *Mind'ar mame meráhi*—I shall die immediately, K.

Mechos, S., s. m. (Slov. *meč*), sword.

Medvyed'is, S., s. m. (Slov, *med'ved'*), bear.

Meg, S., *mek*, K., adv. (Mag. *még*; Bhm. = Sl.). 1. Still: *Meg hi shukáreder har angoder*—She is still more beautiful than formerly. 2. Beyond that? *He meg he leskre narodi avle*—And beyond that (?) his parents came.

Mek, S., prtcl. (Serb. *neka*, Mikl. M. W. I. 26; Hng. *nek*; Bhm. *mek*, Ješ. 66), may. *Mek shut'árel tsiral*—She may dry a cheese.

Melálo, S.; *mel'alo, mäl'álo*, M. W., adj. (Gr., Hng. *melalo*; Bhm. *mel'álo*; meaning in all these dial. dirty, ugly), black, S.; weak, M. W.

Mel'inav, a., M. W., vb. tr. (Slov. *mal'ovat'*), to paint.

Men, M. W., S., s. f. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), neck.

Mer, K., *K., conj. (Mag. *mert*; Hng. = Sl.), for; (Germ. *denn*).

Merau, S.; *merav*, K., vb. itr. pt. pf.; *múlo, mulo*, S. (Gr. *merava*, pl. pf. *mulo, molo, merdo*; Hng. *merav*; Bhm. *mérav*), to die.

Meriben, M. W., s. m. (Gr., Hng. *meribe*;

[1] It is a common custom with almost all Gypsy tribes to use improper and different words in naming natural objects. The Slovak Gypsies, so far as I know, do not take the least interest in them, when they are of no peculiar use.

Even when they speak Slovak, they interchange the names for butterflies, bees, beetles, caterpillars, etc., with one another, and the objects themselves they similarly confound.

Bhm. = Sl.), death. *Tu tre meribnesthar aveha*—Thou wilt lose thy life (Germ. *Du wirst um dein Leben kommen*), a singular phrase.

Mesto, M. W., prp. (Serb. *mesto*), instead.

Milo, S., adj. (Slov. *milý*), dear.

Milvonos, K., s. m. (Slov. *milion*), million.

Mil'a, S., s. f. (Slov. *míl'a*), mile.

Milinav, K., vb. tr. (Slov. *milovat'*), to love.

Minaris, S., s. m. (Slov. *mlynár*), miller.

Minch, S., s. f. (Gr., Hng. *minj*; Gr. *minch*), *vulva*.

Mind'ar, K., S.; *mindyár*, M.; *mindiar*, K., adv. (Mag. *mindjárt*), immediately. instantly.

Minuta, S., s. f. (Slov. *minúta*, from Germ.), minute.

Mírno, S., adj. adv.? (Serb. *mirno*), at peace, or quiet. *Imar hi mírno*—It is already at peace. *Kana man na des mírno*—If thou dost not leave me in peace (Germ. *wenn du mir nicht Ruhe gibst*, Slov. accordingly.)

Misl'inau, S., vb. tr. itr. (Slov. *myslet'*), to think.

Mlát'inav, M. W., vb. tr. (Slov. *mlátit'*), to thrash.

Mochkosh? *K. (Mag. *mocskos*, dirty?), tobacco juice.

Moxto, S., s. m. (Gr. wanting; Hng. *mosto*; Bhm. = Sl.), chest, coffin.

Moxtóro, M. W., S. (dim. of the same), small chest.

Mol, S., *mól*, K., s. f. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. *mol*), wine.

Mol'inau, S., vb. tr. (Serb. *moliti*), to beg.

Moraros, *moraris*? M. W., s. m. (the nom. sg. not stated; n. pl. *morara*; Mod. Greek *μουράρος*; Gr., Hng., Bhm. wanting), mason, bricklayer.

Morau, S., vb. tr. (Gr. *murava*, *morava*, to rub, to purify; Hng. *murav*, to rasp; Bhm. *mórav*), to grind.

Mordinav, M. W., vb. tr. (cf. Slov. *mordovat'*, to kill?), to plague, to vex.

More, *M., K., S., s. m. voc.; *moro*, Mikl., M. W. viii. 18; Hng. = Sl.; Bhm. *morre*), friend! comrade! Kal. Husband: *Ushti more ker buti*—Get up, husband, to your work. K. In *O Rom th-o Rashai*, the father says to his son: *Jánes tu so more jaha mantsa*.

Mort'i, M. W., s. f. (Gr. *morti*; Hng. *mortin*; Bhm. *mort'hi*), skin, leather.

Mozhno, S., adj. (Slov. *možný*), possible. *Náne mozhna vets*—It is impossible (lit. it is not a possible thing).

Mramoris, M. W., s. m. (Slov. *mramor*), marble.

Mro, M., S., K., *K.; *mo*, M.; *míro*, *M.; *miro*, *K., pron. poss. following a voc. m. sg.—it forms sometimes "*mreya*": *Ax devla mreya!*—Oh my God! (Gr. *minro*, *mo*; Hng. *munro*; Hng., Bhm. *mro*), my. It is necessarily used with *devel*, *q.v.* In addressing somebody it is used in the sense of "my dear." *Ax saso mro, de man vareso!*—Oh, my (dear) soldier, give me something.

Mudárau, S.; *murdárav*, M. W.; *murdarav*, K., vb. tr. (Gr. *murdarava*; Hng. *murderav*; Bhm. wanting?), to kill.

Mui, *K., S., m. obl. sg.; *mos*, S. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. *mui*), mouth; S. face, *K.

Mukau, S., vb. tr. (Gr. *mukava*; Hng., Bhm. *mukav*). 1. To leave: *Zhi yekhe* (?) *bersh adai mukas*—We will leave it here a year. 2. To let loose: *Chak man, mre láche manusha, muken*—But let me loose my good people! 3. To leave behind: *Kana merava, kaske me odova mukava?*—When I shall die, to whom shall I leave that? 4. To relinquish, to forsake: *Sar me tumen mukava, mre láche manusha?*—How shall I forsake you, my good people?

Mulano, S.; *múláno*, M. W., adj. (Gr. *mulano*; Hng. wanting; Bhm. *muláno*), dead. *Nane ńiko mulano*—Nobody died (lit. is dead), S. *Múláno shéro*, death's head, M. W.

Mulo. See *merau*.

Murdalo, S.; *murdálo*, M. W., adj. (Gr. *murdal*; Hng. *murdalo*; Bhm. *murdálo*), dead.

Murdal'ovau, S., vb. tr. (Gr. *murdal'o-vava*; Hng. *murdalovav*; Bhm. *murdal'óvav*), to die (partic. animals).

Mursh, M. W., S., s. m. (Gr. *mursh*, *mrush*, valiant man; Hng. *murzh*, man, husband; Bhm. = Sl., man, fellow), lad, fellow. *Me tut prinjárau*,

hoi tu sal lácho he zorálo mursh—I perceive, thou art a good and valiant fellow.

Murvano, *a.*, S., adj. (referred to Mag. *murva*, chaff, sweepings); only in *murvano xeu*, chimney.

Musi, K., S., s. f. (Gr. = Sl.; Hng. *mus*, arm; Bhm. = Sl., hand; Ješ. 67), hand, arm.

Musi, *mosi*, S., vb. imp. (Tchk, *musiti*; Slov. *muset'*, cf. Mikl., M. W. i. 25; Bhm. *musinav*), to be obliged; for the construction, cf. *Amen tut mosi te chóras*—We must ravish thee. *Mosi te kheles*—Thou must dance. *Havori suma mosi te sikade kai hi*—The whole sum they were obliged to show, where it is.

Mutrau, S., vb. itr. (Gr. *mutrava*; Hng. *mutérau*; Bhm. *mútrau*), *mingere*.

REVIEWS.

F. Hindes Groome's Article "Gypsies" in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, Vol. v.

ARTICLES in cyclopædias are often considered to have a special value attaching to them, inasmuch as they are expected to give, in as concise and popular a form as possible, the sum and substance of what is known on a particular subject. Mr. Groome's article in *Chambers's Encyclopædia* is an excellent specimen of what such an article should be: it presents an admirably compact and complete summary of Romani research brought up to date, and based on the latest and most trustworthy statistics. As Mr. Groome also wrote the article on the same subject in the tenth volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1878), it will be all the more interesting to Gypsiologists to compare the two articles, and see what has been done in their special subject during the interval, and how far the author himself may, in the meantime, have modified his opinions on certain moot points of Gypsy research. In this latter respect, however, no very important modification of views is perhaps perceptible in the two articles, unless it be that Mr. Groome has come to look with somewhat more favour than he formerly did on Bataillard's famous prehistoric theory. That a theory which shifts back the immigration of this "Plantagenet in rags," as the Edinburgh Reviewer (1878) so happily styles the Rom, to so dim and distant a past as the introduction of bronze into Europe, should exercise a certain fascination over the minds of Gypsiologists is perhaps not to be wondered at; but when one is actually placed before the alternative whether the Gypsy term *petul*, horseshoe, was derived from the Greek πέταλον (where etymology and transition of meaning are perfectly plain) and Gypsy *khárkoma*, copper, from χάλκωμα, or *vice versâ*, few philologists, one would think, will hesitate to decide the point in their own minds, and to reject a theory which after all rests

merely on the very superficial resemblance of the Σίγυνναι of Herodotus and the Ατσίγκανοι of the Byzantine historians. Indeed, it is perhaps safest for the present not to mix up the two questions, but to deal only with the linguistic argument, and leave it to the archæologist and ethnologist to decide the question as to what race introduced bronze into Europe, whether Indians, or Etruscans, or Ligurians, or who else, small-handed or large-handed. Mr. Groome, on linguistic grounds, lays down the perfectly sound axiom, which no one, I think, can gainsay, that "the modern Gypsies are descended, not from successive waves of Oriental immigration, but all from the self-same European-Gypsy stock, whenever that stock may have first been transplanted to Europe." This, then, is the point to be determined. Miklosich, Beames, Grierson, and others maintain that Romani, in its general phonetic and grammatical features, stands exactly on a par with the neo-Aryan languages of India, and that the emigration of the Gypsies from India cannot therefore possibly have taken place before the end of the Prakrit period—say about the beginning of our era. Ascoli, on the other hand, is inclined to attach importance to certain archaic phonetic features of the Gypsy dialects which would seem to place Romani nearer to Sanskrit than even Prakrit and Pali. In my opinion the former view has by far the best of the argument. If the Gypsies had left India during the Prakrit period, when the old synthetic Sanskrit system, however much ground down, still prevailed, it would surely be exceedingly strange that they should subsequently have developed independently the self-same declensional system as the modern languages of India. The thing is all but incredible. And on what grounds are we asked to accept this highly improbable hypothesis? There are, indeed, remaining in Romani a few—a very few—cases of consonantal combinations, where even in the Prakrits, or popular dialects of the Hindu drama, and in Pali, these had already become simplified by assimilation or otherwise. But, then, for every such case of an apparently archaic consonantal nexus in Romani, hundreds of similar cases could probably be adduced from different modern languages of India, and no one, surely, would say that these must therefore be older than the Prakrits and Pali. Thus Sanskrit *hasta*, "hand," is *hattho* in Prakrit and Pali, *hāth* in Hindi and Guzarati, *hattha* in Panjabi, *hāt* in Bengali, whilst in Romani it is *vast*. Here, while the original initial letter *h* has sadly degenerated, the consonantal nexus *st*, which has disappeared in all the Indian languages (though it may survive locally here and

there), still remains the same as in Sanskrit. On the other hand Sanskrit *rakta*, "red, blood," is *ratta* in Pali, *ratto* (or *raggo*) in Prakrit; *ratt*, "blood," in Romani, *rātā* in Hindi, etc.; whilst in Marathi we have *rātā*, "red," *rakta*, "blood," in Uriya and Bengali *rakta* in both senses; and similarly in Hindustani *rakt*, illiterate *rakat*, *ragat*, "blood, red" (Fallon). Here, then, the original nexus *kt*, which has disappeared through assimilation in Prakrit, in Pali, and in Romani, is still preserved in several modern Indian languages. We have indeed to bear in mind that the Prakrits and Pali at best only represent an older stage of individual local dialects, and that probably not in the form in which they were actually spoken by the people, but as they had been reduced to uniform rule by grammarians for literary purposes. Moreover, in comparing Gypsy words with cognate words of the modern vernaculars of India, we must not forget that, though Gypsy research is no doubt a comparatively recent thing, our knowledge of the Gypsy language really goes back further, perhaps much further, than that of any of the Indian vernaculars. For while the literary documents of the latter are as a rule not more than a few centuries old, and only in the case of Hindi date back to as early as the tenth century (and that in the poetic, and not purely popular form of the language), a comparison of the existing Gypsy dialects certainly carries us back centuries before that time—it may be, indeed, to the early centuries of our era. Hence, if a word now shows a less primitive form in the Indian vernaculars to what it does in Romani, it is by no means certain that at the time when the Gypsies left India some of these languages may not have had the word in the very same, or even in a more archaic, form. Take, for instance, the word for "year." The English-Gypsy word is given as *besh*, but Paspati gives *bersh*, and a comparison with Sanskrit *varsha*, "rain," plural "the rains, or the year," shows clearly that *barsha* or *bersha* must have been the form of the Romani word at the time of the emigration. Now in Pali, again, we find the word already in an assimilated form, *vasso* or *vassam*, while the Prakrit grammarians give *variso* and *vāsam*, and in Hindustani, etc., we get variously *barasā*, *baras*, *bars*. It is thus precisely the total lack of linguistic data in the Indian vernaculars from the time of the Gypsy emigration till within the last few centuries that makes it now all but hopeless to determine the exact vernacular with which Romani was identical; and the more so as at the time of the emigration the difference between the vernaculars was perhaps comparatively slight. On the whole, however, I am inclined to accept the identification of *Rom* with the Bhojpuri-speaking *Doms* first proposed by

Leland, and afterwards supported by Grierson with linguistic arguments (*Indian Antiquary*, xv. p. 15). The want of the neuter gender in Romani also seems to me to preclude the idea of its being considered as more ancient than Pali and the Prakrits. As regards the probable date of the Gypsy emigration, the Behram Gur tradition, which would place that event at about 420 A.D., seems perhaps after all the most acceptable, though it is no doubt quite possible that the migration may have taken place a century or two before that time. If the Gypsies really came to Europe by way of Egypt, as tradition will have it, their sojourn in the Nile Valley must certainly have preceded the Arab invasion, as otherwise the absence of Arabic words in Gypsy speech would be difficult to account for. This seems also to be Mr. Groome's view; but what he can mean by his remark (p. 489 *a*) "one is almost tempted to connect *Rom* with the ancient Egyptian *rôme*, 'man' (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. 225), and to believe that there really is something in the alleged Egyptian origin of the Gypsies," I am utterly at a loss to understand: is it a mere momentary outburst of Gypsy frolic, or can it be a serious relapse from the scientific to the mythological frame of mind? J. EGGELING.

Vom Wandernden Zigeunervolke. Bilder aus dem Leben der Siebenbürger Zigeuner. Von Dr. Heinrich von Wlislocki. Hamburg, 1890.[1]

Under this title Dr. von Wlislocki has gathered together and re-arranged much of the information which has within recent years been contributed by him to various journals, or has been separately published; and consequently several portions of this work have already received notice in our pages.

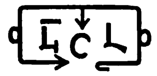
The book is divided into three sections—the Historical (pp. 1-48), the Ethnological (pp. 49-309), and that of Language and Poetry (pp. 310-390). All are valuable and attractive, but in the second and third divisions Dr. Wlislocki is more especially on his own ground, for there he records many of the most striking characteristics of the people whom he has studied so closely and so enthusiastically for, as he informs us, the last ten years. It is this intimate personal knowledge of these people and their ways that gives to his pages not only the life and charm which they unquestionably possess, but also the intrinsic value which is their highest merit. "*Im Eisenbahn-Coupé erster Klasse*

[1] Verlagsanstalt und Druckerei Actien-Gesellschaft. 10 *M.*

oder im weichen Sitz eines Viergespanns kann man das Volksleben der Zigeuner nicht studiren !" says our author in his preface. It was not thus, but far otherwise, that his studies of Transylvanian Gypsy life were carried on. And it is this appreciation of the poetical aspect of his theme that gives so much life to his pages, which teem with examples of Romani folk-rhymes and songs of love and mourning, given for the most part in the original Romani, and always rendered into sonorous German verse.

We can only allow ourselves one brief extract from the book, and this is made chiefly for the sake of comparison with other Gypsy emblems, such as those given in Dr. Kounavine's "Materials." On the subject of such emblems Dr. Wlislocki states (pp. 14-15):—

"I have myself seen, in the course of my first association with a band of Transylvanian Tent-Gypsies, when I lived and travelled with them for seven months, an alleged golden, prismatic cup, the owner of which would not part with it for any price in the world. On this cup were dogs and stag-like animals, with the following inscription, which I cannot decipher :—



That this inscription is not Sanskrit, Persian, Turkish, Armenian, or Hebrew, is beyond a doubt."

The last number of *Ethnographia*[1] also contained an article by Dr. von Wlislocki, on Love Charms and Predictions among the Gypsies of his province, of which we purpose giving an English translation in the next number of our *Journal*. M. Jean Richepin has contributed a lively sketch entitled "Romanitchels" to the *Figaro Illustré* of April 1890,[2] which is amusing, if not very solid. It throws, however, some little light on the Gypsy and semi-Gypsy van-dwelling castes of France.

We have much pleasure in notifying that Mr. Leland's work on Gypsy Sorcery is now ready. The book is entitled *Gypsy Sorcery, Magic, and Fortune-Telling*, and it is published by Mr. T. Fisher Unwin, London. Besides the edition to be published at a moderate price, there will be an *édition de luxe* of a hundred and fifty copies, each bearing the signature of the author. The book will be reviewed in our next number.

[1] Budapest, June 1, 1890.
[2] Boussod, Valadon et C^ie, 9 rue Chaptal, Paris.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

I.

(*a.*) Death of a well-known English Gypsy.

Sylvester Boswell ("*Westáaros*"), famous for his deep *Romines*,[1] died April 22, and was buried April 24 in Flaybrick Hill Cemetery, in the same tomb with his two sons Byron and Bruce. He died in Walton Workhouse, where he had been placed by his family about four years ago, when his mind began to fail. He was seventy-nine years of age, but most of the Gypsies here believe him to be much older; his nephew, J. Gray, insisting that he was at least 100. Upon his giving up tent-life, his goods were divided among his surviving sons and relatives, and as his subsequent death did not actually occur on the camping-ground, the usual Gypsy custom of destroying the deceased's effects was not in this case followed. He is, however, said to have himself made away with a number of small valuables before his retirement. I remember, after that event took place, the ground underneath and around his small tent was dug up to a considerable depth, in the hope of finding some of the articles, which he is believed to have somewhere secreted.

(*b.*) Gypsy Songs.

Since writing on the above subject in the last number of our Journal, I have heard the following variant of one of Borrow's songs sung by Mrs. Tēni Mullenger (*née* Robinson) of Blackpool.

"As *mandi* was a *jall*in' to the *bōro gav*,
Mandi dik'd a *romano chai*;
I *pūch*'d her to *chūmer mandi*—
'*Aawa bā. Mīsto tū tai!*'"

I have also learned that the song given by me at p. 86, and the one on p. 90 which begins, "*Del mandi* a *chūma* my *rinkeni chai*," are not of Gypsy origin, but were merely composed as "decoys" by Messrs. Crofton and Smart many years ago, when they were endeavouring to obtain genuine Gypsy songs. As the studies of these gentlemen were largely made among Lancashire Gypsies, from whom several of my songs were collected, the two referred to have remained in the locality of their origin. It may be added that the versions obtained by me show several departures from the original form.

(*c.*) Mr. George Smith and his Gypsy Adherents.

The following extract is from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of May 9:—

"Gypsy Lee in the Lobby.—Two unusual visitors favoured the Lobby with their presence on Wednesday, and were the object of much attention. They were a Gypsy man and woman of the noted Lee family, and they were brought into the House by Mr. George Smith of Coalville. A spice of romance was imparted to the incident by the circumstance that the uncle of the man had saved Mr. Smith's life at a critical moment, when another Gypsy was about to 'bash' in his head with a tent-pole. The two Gypsies expressed great delight with all they saw, and entertain a lively idea of the benefits that have been conferred on them by the legislation Mr. Smith has promoted."

Mr. Lee and his nephew must be exceptional characters, for I am afraid the sympathies of most of my Gypsy friends would lie rather with the "other Gypsy." The pious wish of "Preaching Charlie," in Professor Palmer's ballad, would probably represent their sentiments accurately. John Sampson.

[1] *Vide* Bath Smart and Crofton's *Dialect of the English Gypsies*; Groome's *In Gipsy Tents*; and Morwood's *Our Gypsies in City, Van, and Tent.*

2.

Additional Notes on the Spanish Gypsies.

"What picturesque figures are constantly passing backwards and forwards! [the scene is the "hill-garden" of the Alhambra, at Granada]—copper-coloured Gypsies with blue-black hair, the men in embroidered jackets with hanging silver buttons, scarlet *fajas* round their waists, and broad-brimmed sombreros; the women in bright pink and yellow petticoats, and with large bunches of flowers, generally yellow by way of strongest contrast, pinned behind their black locks."

* * * *

". . . We could hardly bear to think of the fate which awaited that little child[1] at the cemetery, where, when these uncoffined funerals take place, the Gypsies, by an ancient custom, fall upon the body on its arrival, and, tearing off all its dress and decorations, fight and scrámble for them amongst themselves, leaving the poor corpse to be tossed, naked and desecrated, into its grave amongst the docks and nettles.

"The savage insolence of the Gypsy population, their coarse language and manners, and their brutal immoralities, are the great objection to a lengthened residence in Granada. They are absolutely uncontrolled either by the laws or the police. Their swarms of children are brought up systematically to beg without ceasing, and to steal whenever they can. They are utterly without shame. If an English lady ventures into the Gypsy quarter alone, a troop of young women and children will not scruple to fall upon her, and while some carry off her shawl, parasol, etc., others will force their hands into her pocket and seize all it contains. Gypsy beggars never ask, they always demand, in the most violent and imperious tones, and wherever a number of Gypsy children are encountered together, the shouts of "Ochavito, ochavito," are more than deafening. Unfortunately the view from San Nicolao, one of the grandest in Granada, is in a stronghold of the Gypsies, who must be encountered to visit it. Their chief residence, however [Mr. Hare, of course, is only speaking of Granada], is in the hillside of the Albaycin, leading to the Monte Sacro, where innumerable caves are perforated in the living rock, beneath immense prickly pears, which serve at once as food, shade, and protection. The mouths of these caves are whitewashed, and the entrances generally guarded by a piece of old carpet. There the savage families bask all day in the sun, and make the air resound with their harsh guttural cries and songs. The women who do not steal earn money by telling fortunes and selling amulets; the children who are not busy begging roll in the dust in front of their caves, often quite naked, and without any distinction of sex. At Seville, a stranger, wishing to see their manners and customs, may, on paying one real (2½d.), be present where they dance their national dances and sing their national songs in their own picturesque costume. At Granada, a few women in tawdry white muslin gowns, extort five francs from every individual of the large assemblies who have the folly to meet to see them. Their principal dances are the Malagena and the Romalis."—From *Wanderings in Spain*, by Mr. Augustus J. C. Hare; contributed to *Good Words* of 1872.

[1] A little girl whose funeral was witnessed by Mr. Hare.

Notice.—As the earlier numbers of the *Journal* are now very scarce—of No. 1, in fact, there being no more than five copies remaining—it has been found necessary to increase the price of Vol. I. to £2. The price of No. 1 of Vol. II., which contains the reprint of Callot's "Bohemians," is 7s. 6d. to Non-Members.

Members are reminded that their Subscriptions for year 1890-1891 *are now payable.*

All Contributions must be legibly written on one side only of the paper, must bear the sender's name and address, though not necessarily for publication, and must be sent to D. MacRitchie, Esq., 4 Archibald Pl., Edinburgh.

Vol. II. No. 4.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

OCTOBER 1890.

Contents.

PAGE

I. GYPSY ACROBATS IN ANCIENT AFRICA. By Bu Bacchar, ... 193

II. TINKERS AND THEIR TALK. By John Sampson, 204

III. LOVE FORECASTS AND LOVE CHARMS AMONG THE TENT GYPSIES OF TRANSYLVANIA. By Dr. Heinrich von Wlislocki, . . . 221

IV. NOTES ON THE GYPSIES OF SOUTH-EASTERN MORAVIA. By Professor Rudolf von Sowa, . 226

V. SCOTTISH GYPSIES UNDER THE STEWARTS. By David MacRitchie. (*Continued*), . . 229

VI. NOTES ON THE GYPSIES OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA. By Vladislav Kornel de Zieliński, ... 237

VII. SLOVAK-GYPSY VOCABULARY (*N—Pob*). By Professor Rudolf von Sowa, . . . 240

REVIEWS: NOTES AND QUERIES, . . 245

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JOURNAL OF THE

GYPSY LORE

SOCIETY.

VOL. II. OCTOBER 1890. No. 4

I.—GYPSY ACROBATS IN ANCIENT AFRICA.

"TO the west of it [the Nile] dwelt the group of tribes which bore the general name of Ribu or Libu, the ancestors of those Libyans who are so often mentioned in the historical works and geographical descriptions of the ancients. Inhabiting the north coasts of Africa, they extended their abodes eastward as far as the districts along the Canopic branch of the Nile, now called that of Rosetta or Rashid. From the evidence of the monuments they belonged to a light-coloured race, with blue eyes and blonde or red hair. According to the very remarkable researches of the French General Faidherbe, they must have been the earliest representatives of that race (perhaps of Celts ?), who emigrated from the north of Europe to Africa, making their way through the three Mediterranean peninsulas, and gradually taking possession of the Libyan coasts."[1] Such is the sketch which Brugsch-Bey gives of the Berber race; but they have a far wider range than he seems to suppose, as they not only inhabit North Africa and the Soudan, but are also, as they have been for thousands of years, the terror of West Africa far beyond the Niger,

[1] *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, by Henry Brugsch-Bey. 2 vols., 1879. John Murray: London.

where they are known as active ivory traders and merciless slave hunters, erroneously called Arabs, from their being Mahommedans, and able to read the Koran.

Brugsch-Bey does not refer to the existence of two very distinct branches of the Berbers,[1] who seem to have sprung originally from very different races, one to the north-west, inhabiting Mount Atlas, who generally have red or light-brown hair, and are frequently almost giants in stature, and the other, a smaller, darker, and more vivacious race, who are to be found south of Mount Atlas, and especially in the province of Sus, and are therefore known to us as Susis. The former, named by us Riffians, or Riffs, call themselves *Ribi*, or *Riphi*[2] (in the plural *Riphai-in*). The Susis differ from them as much as the Gypsies do from the Scottish Highlanders. The Barbary Jews, who substitute an *m* in the plural for the Berber *n*, call these two races *Riphai-im* and *Susīm*, familiar names that are strangely suggestive of those puzzles to commentators on Genesis, the giant "*Riphaims*," and their neighbours, "the Zuzims in Ham."

It is probable that the fair-skinned Libyans are much less numerous now than they once were, in consequence of intermarriages with the darker Susis and with negro slaves or their descendants. The Susis, who were known to the ancients as Getulians, are generally a Gypsy-like nomadic race, and are evidently referred to as such on the monuments of the Fourth Dynasty (*i.e.* 4300 B.C.).

"It is a noteworthy phenomenon," says Brugsch-Bey, "that as early as the remote times of the Fourth Dynasty of Egyptian sovereigns, some people belonging to this race (the Ribu, or Libu), men, women, and children, wandered into Egypt to display their dexterity as dancers, combatants, and gymnasts, in the public games which delighted young and old; just as at the present day the Egyptians still amuse themselves with the buffooneries and skilful tricks of wandering Mograbins. The Libyans, however, who appear on the walls of the sepulchres from the Fourth to the Twelfth Dynasty, are distinguished from the reddish-brown Egyptians by their light-grey or light-brown complexion, suggesting the probability that they may not have had a very close relationship to the white Libyans of

[1] How little is known by scholars as to the Berbers is shown by the fact that two of the most competent authorities on the early races of Europe and Africa differ *in toto* from each other on that subject—one, Canon Isaac Taylor, asserting that the Berbers are a swarthy race, while his critic, Professor Sayce, denies that they are dark, and holds that they are fair, with blue eyes and light hair.

[2] To the south there meets us a tendency to change the final *i* into *u*. Beni Hami (the Sons of Ham) becomes Ben*u* Hami, which is abbreviated into *Bu* Hami: Susi becomes *Susoo*. Hence Ribi and Libi become Ribu and Libu.

later times." The visits of Mograbin acrobats to Egypt were not confined to that period, for Brugsch-Bey, referring to the close commercial connection that existed between Egypt and the people of Palestine and Libya, says: "The arrival in Egypt of the representatives of these nations is a fact which is proved by numerous paintings and inscriptions in the mortuary chapels. The light-coloured Libyans frequently visited Egypt to show their address in warlike games and dances."

Remote as may seem the era which dates back (according to Brugsch-Bey) 6000 years, or 2000 years before the Exodus, and to which we have traced the connection of Moorish acrobats with Egypt, yet if E. Stanley Poole's views in his original and most valuable article on "Magic" in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* are correct, long before the date of the earliest monuments the wandering magicians and fortune-tellers of the Soudan and the Southern Atlas must have had an even greater influence on prehistoric Egyptians than they now have on the ignorant and superstitious savages of "Darkest Africa," to whom they sell their charms and amulets.

"Magic, as we have before remarked, was inherent in the ancient Egyptian religion. The ritual is a system of incantations and divinations, for making amulets, with the object of securing the future happiness of the disembodied soul." "It cannot be doubted that the knowledge and use of the magical amulets and incantations treated of in the ritual were held to be necessary for future happiness." The later chapters of the ritual "contain mystical names not bearing on Egyptian etymology. These names have been thought to be *Ethiopian*. They either have no signification, and are mere magical gibberish, or else they are mainly, at least, of foreign origin."

"The regions of terror traversed, the mystic portals that open alone to magical words, and monsters whom magic can deprive of their power to injure, are here already in the book that was found in part by King Mencheres 4000 years ago. Bearing in mind the Nigritian nature of Egyptian magic, we may look for the sources of these ideas in primeval Africa. There we find the realities of which the idea is not greatly distorted, though greatly exaggerated. The forests that clothe the southern slopes of the snowy Atlas full of fierce beasts, the vast deserts untenanted save by harmful reptiles, swept by sand-storms, and ever burning under an unchanging sun, are the several genii of the Egyptian Hades. The creatures of the desert, the plains and slopes, the crocodile, the pachydermata, the lion, perchance the gorilla, are the genii that hold the land of fear." "No

wonder that the primitive race imagined the evils of the unseen world to be a recurrence of those against which they struggled while on earth."

He considers that the fact that the name for Hades (Erebus) came from Ereb (the west), points to the west as the country from which the Egyptians derived their ideas of the journey of the soul to paradise. He might have strengthened his argument by referring to Amenti, the Egyptian name for Hades, which is derived from *Ement* (the west).

Tataren is a name for Gypsies not only in Sweden and south Germany, but also in Africa, where it is met with as far south as Timbuctoo as Tatari, Karkari, or Gargari. Tatari is also the Berber name for the morning star, "the holy morning star, that rises to the west of the land of Punt," that "land of the gods." With us Lucifer, "the prince of the morning," is suggestive of *Tartarus*, and of the Gypsy name for God—*Dyvel*!! May not the name for the Gypsies, Tatari, have had the same meaning as "Arab," which is derived from Ereb, the west—*i.e.* "the western people"? The Berber *Atăram* (the west), with the common prefix *ta* or *t*, gives us Tatăram. May not the name Helebis also come from Ereb (the West)—*Herebis?*

Who are these Mograbin acrobats and jugglers who Brugsch-Bey says still amuse the Egyptians by their skilful tricks or performances? It is possible that they are Gypsies who are to be found in Egypt, but who, according to Captain Newbold, do not belong to that country, for "one thing is certain, that these Gypsies are strangers in the land of Egypt." He describes them as being of three classes, Helebes, Rhagarin (pl. Gargar), and Nuris or Nawas. "The Helebes deal in horses, and have a bad character for honesty; their women, called Fehemis, are the only ones who practise fortune-telling and sorcery. The Fehemis are noted for their chastity. The Rhagarin are not. The men of the Rhagarin are tinkers and blacksmiths, and sell cheap jewellery and instruments of brass and iron, and many of them are athletes, mountebanks, and monkey exhibitors. The women are rope-dancers and musicians. They are divided into classes. The Nuris are hereditary thieves."

As one of the classes of the Rhagarin bears a distinctly Moorish name, *Beit er Rifái*, it is clear that they must have come from the Riff country, but that they cannot be Riffians, who are not nomads, and have fair skins and light hair, and do not indulge in magic or fortune-telling. It would be hasty to assume that horse-raising

was confined to the Helebes. Denham describes a fine race of Gypsies whom he saw in Burnu, and who have a very fine breed of horses, and resemble the best-looking of our Gypsies. He calls them Shouas. Cooley (in his *Negroland of the Arabs*, p. 108), after trying to prove that the Karkari are a tribe to the east of Timbuctoo, who belong to a large town called *Karkar* (corrupted, he says, to Kaukau), which is situated on a river of that name, quotes Dupuis (*Two Years' Residence in Ashanti*, App. 53) as saying: "Some of these rivers open communication with a tribe of heathens named Gargari who live in tents, and are not black, but a red-skinned race, yet they are not of Arabian stock. The best breeds of horses and mules come from these parts." They no doubt belong to the people whom Denham speaks of. Cooley says that "this extract from Dupuis is evidently a description of a Berber tribe, whose loose observance of Mohammedan rites have caused them to be considered as Pagans." He gives an authority for the assumption that "Beni-Gurgar is probably the chief place of the Karkari." Ibn Batuta speaks of a "Sultan el Karkari"; Karkari, Gargari, are probably corruptions of Tartari.

In the country south of Mount Atlas there are many tribes that practise fortune-telling and magic; some of them are jugglers, others musicians, others tinkers, others workers in leather, or brass, or iron, bellfounders, makers of caldrons, brass dishes which are ornamented with marvellous skill by repoussé work, saddlery and horse-trappings. They are also gold and silver smiths, snake-charmers, etc., etc., and generally betray a Gypsy cast more or less. They have been for thousands of years famous as horse-breeders. Leo Africanus, who wrote long before the days of *Darley's Arabian*, or *Flying Childers*, says that these people of south Mount Atlas, in his day, had careful pedigrees of their stock extending back two hundred years.

We must await the results of future inquiries before we can say who of the races inhabiting that region are Gypsies and who are not. One of them, however, that is unquestionably Gypsy, is the *Beni Bacchar*, who are found near Massa on the Atlantic coast, and who call themselves by a name which sounds like *Bèz-Carne*. They have at times been proscribed and persecuted by Mohammedan fanatics, and though they are not now molested, their name seems to be mentioned with hesitation by the Moors. I have seen many of them, and have, as far as I could, found out their modes of life, traditions, etc., but, like most Gypsies, they are very reticent, and it is only when you know something about them already, and gain their

confidence, that you can get them to speak freely. It is probable that when I first heard the name Beni Bacchar, it was not known to more than two or three Europeans, even in Marocco. I have since found that the ancient inhabitants of one of the Canary Islands were called *Beni Bacchar* or *Beni Bacchos.*[1] In early ages, therefore, these people must have found their way from Sus to the Canaries. They still have a tradition that the two countries were once one, but that the sea broke through and separated them. It is clear, therefore, that if the *Beni Bacchar* or *Bu Bacchar* are of Gypsy descent, we must assign an enormous antiquity to the presence of the Gypsies south of Mount Atlas, a country which would be best described by its ancient name *Getulia.* There are no doubt different classes there, one of which at least seems to represent a higher degree or order —the Oulad bu Saba. According to my ex-Susi servant, Hammed Azue, almost the only native from the country near Massa who could speak English fluently, many of the people south of Mount Atlas when they are in danger, instead of calling upon Allah, ejaculate *Oulad bu Saba,* for they are greatly reverenced as a superior caste and as being saints. They reside a day's journey or more in the Soudan, and guide caravans or *accabars* to Timbuctoo. A little further south is a somewhat similar tribe called Shanghit, but inferior to them in status and attainments. Mahomed Alemi, one of them, stated to me, as to the Sabaeen or Shebuyan, that they wear a black or dark blue *haiik* and dress differently from others. He says in his language *bulobarz* (a word which Leland says is connected by Gypsy tradition with Stonehenge) means a *sheik* of architects (or master-mason?) "The women of the Sabara tell fortunes by the hand. There are people called *Tinghars* (tinkers?) whose women tell fortunes." In eastern Europe the Gypsies are called *Atinghars—a* is the common Berber prefix. There are also people in the Soudan called *Noroma. Me inda,* is "I go."

Mahomed ben Ali of Twat says that the women of his tribe "tell fortunes by sand, and are called *Remliien* and *Romni.* There are people living in caves who are called *Tinghar,* and mend pots. They find tin in the mountains. *Kasder* is the word for tin. He

[1] According to Berthelot (*Ethnographia de las Islas Canarias,* p. 226) d'Avizac calls the people of the island of Hierro *Beny Bachir,* while Galindo and Viero call them *Bin Bacchos.* They danced, like the Aiissawas, by joining hands and jumping and bending their heads in time to music. One of the Susis, whose evidence has been given, says that the Beni Bacchar of Sus dance like Aiissawas, and become crazy in their rites. This peculiarity, it has been stated, distinguished the people of Hierro from the other Canarians. It is clear therefore that the Beni Bacchar of the mainland and of Hierro belonged to the same race.

knows the word *tin*, but thinks it is Arabic. Hadji Ali ben Taleb Sinjik says that at a large town the people speak *Shilhach*, and the women tell fortunes by the hand. We tell fortunes by the hand, and the women by killing a cock, and by stones. There are caldron makers who go by themselves, marry by themselves, and have a language of their own. *Globali* is a bell; *külehin*, a crucible; *spitiri*, a tin-man; *augari*, gold. Head ornaments are *zlaga* or *mlaga*. They represent something—some stars. There are dishes hung up on trees to divine by the sound. They call it *tannăkas*."

Hadji bu Zima, from Tazawalt, between Sus and Ephran, says that his tribe is "Ida ou Tills. The Oulad bu Saba tell fortunes. There are people called *Guessani*. Amongst the Oulad bu Sidi Bounu, Shangit, and Ait Amaran, the women tell fortunes by the hand; also Adgoots and Bu Salem, near Ophran, tell fortunes by the hand and shoulder."

Hadji Mahommed (already examined) here stated that the women of his tribe tell fortunes by the hand, and the men by sand. They have a feast called Adah, which lasts forty days, same as that of Aiissawas. It takes place at the beginning of the cold weather. "There is tribe in the Sahara called Naiil, the women of which are prostitutes, also Azlia, and one called the Oulad our Abah. Among the Barimiken[1] and Beni Izrael (Moors, not Jews) women tell fortunes. Such people are called Gargar. Among the Helebes the men only tell fortunes, some by beads, and some by stones, among which is a black and a white one; some by a flower. *Kaiton*, among the Beni Bacchar is a tent; *paniali*, a strong drink from dates; *manuch* is a man. A *romi* is a man; also *gudjo*; *gor*, a boy; *chavo*, a child; *rakler*, a girl; *lacho*, good; *puro*, old; *turno* or *turro*, a young man; *purno* is white; *kalo*, black. The people who speak this language are called Romani. *Kurbat*, a Cabyle; *anwal* or *loh*, an anvil; *koraki*, a hammer; *kubala*, tongs; *pukil*, bellows; *diklo*, a woman's kerchief. We are called Zigani, and came from the Soudan."

Hadji bu Zima, who was present, said that he did not understand what had been said, as he did not know the language of the Beni Bacchar.

"Mahomed ben Ali bu Gerar lives near Massa; knows the Tureiia ('the seven stars') and the belt of Orion, which is called Imanah. The Tureiiah go with the caravans and guide them. They are called 'The Seven Whistlers,' because they whistle for one of

[1] Newbold says that in Egypt the Barimiken are a branch of the Gargar.

them that is lost." (This is a Gypsy name in England for those stars.)

Mahommed ben Mahomed el Susi says: "The Saba (the Tureiia) are represented in the middle of the tent (of secret rites?), hanging like a bunch of grapes. There is a hole there called *Bast*, through which the stars can be seen dancing." These stars were "the dancers" among the Greeks, and the North American Indians. *Bast* is the name given to "*the dance of the stars*" by some Berbers, and evidently points to that ancient Libyan goddess whom the Egyptians borrowed—*Bast*, the goddess of dancing.

Hadji Omar Ait bu Gerar of Massa, district of Bu Amaran, says that "the Beni Bacchar are called in Susi *Biz Carn*" (the origin of the French word meaning "outlandish"?). "They live in a country of serpents, beyond Agadir. They can find gold at the night. The Susis are afraid of them. They take the fangs from snakes, and sell them. They tell fortunes—the women by the hand. They get crazy in their dances. One of them tried to eat his own child." "They are called in Arabic Remliien, and Amhal in Shilhach, from their telling fortunes in sand."

If we recall the various names by which the Gypsies are known in Europe, we shall find that, almost without exception, they can be traced to North Africa. *Rom* in Coptic means a man, and Romi is used by the Moors to express "the Ancients" (the Romans), while *Romani* is one of the many names of some North African fortune-telling tribes. *Zlotar* reminds us of Shilhach or Shilhachte, a language extensively used south of Mount Atlas. *Calderari* (caldron-makers) reminds us that among some North African nomads *caldera* means a caldron. *Atingar* is met with in North Africa, and has the common Berber prefix *a* before *tingar* (a tinker). *Zigani* or *Sigeuner* suggests a very common name of places in North Africa, Sig, which appears in the name of a small tribe west of the Draah, called Nezigen or Anzigen. Çingari or Zingari is the name of the most widely-spread race of nomad Berbers. They are, according to Leo Africanus, to be found in the south-west of Sus, and as far south as the Niger. Their language, which can be traced as far as the borders of Abyssinia, and is that used by the Mandingoes and the people of Timbuctoo, is called Sangaï, Sagaï, or Zagaï. The tribe is called *Singhanah*, by El Bekri, and is also known as Zenegar (no doubt the origin of the name Senegal). "The Morabites," says Cooley, "who were all of the Zenagah nation, as soon as they felt their strength, rushed at once from their own deserts to the conquest of Barbary and Spain." They

became for a time a polished and a settled race; but when they were driven from power, they "went Gypsying," and once more returned to the desert, and became nomads. The same thing occurred in the history of the Zenatah, their rivals.

The Beni-Hami (the sons of Ham) are a numerous tribe of the Zenagar, who practise fortune-telling and magic. One of them, examined by myself, has already been referred to. We have seen that Tatāren comes from Tartari (corrupted in Africa into Gargari or Karkari). It will be a curious fact if even their old Hungarian name, the "children of Pharaoh," was suggested by the Gypsies having brought from the west of Sus the name by which the people there were known to the ancients, *Pharussii.*

It is possible that a philologist well acquainted with Gypsy languages may discover much which is hidden from an ordinary inquirer like myself. What has been already accomplished by scholars in the field of Gypsy lore represents an enormous amount of patient research under great difficulties, and shows that we have much to hope for from their labours in the future.

These extracts from my note-book will amply suffice to establish that Getulia (as I may call that country bounding on the Atlas to the north, and on "Darkest Africa" to the south) was, and still is, saturated with fortune-telling and magic, and is an ancient home of Gypsy races. I have visited Marocco five or six times, mainly with a view to find out something about these people, of which Europeans and even the Moors to the north know but little. I have a good deal more as to these nomads, but the extracts given for the present will suffice. As they talk sometimes Arabic, sometimes Shilhach, sometimes Susi (a dialect of the former), sometimes perhaps Romani, it is difficult not to miss much that could have been found out by more competent inquirers. But I spared no trouble, and employed English, Maltese, French, Moorish, and Susi interpreters, and also possessed later on the advantage of having a remarkably intelligent native of Sus for a servant, to whom I could always refer. If any mistakes have occurred from the meanings or sounds of words having been misunderstood, this will not affect the main point which I wish to establish, that there are any number of Romani tribes south of Mount Atlas.

The most striking instance of their antiquity, and of their being the same now that their ancestors were when the earliest pyramids were built, is to be found in some chance remarks made to me by Mr. Y., a merchant living lately at Mogador, the most southern

port accessible to Europeans. Nearly a score of years ago, while in London, he heard much of "Arab acrobats," who were delighting English sightseers, and accordingly went to see them. After the performance, to his surprise, one of them came up to him, and said in Arabic, "I am glad to see you, Mr. Y. I know you very well, though you do not know me." On being asked who he was, he said that he had often seen Mr. Y. in Mogador; that the troupe had been organised from young men belonging to tribes south of Mogador, and that they had been travelling through Europe and had been very successful. They were able to call themselves Arabs, as they could speak Arabic.

I subsequently met in North Africa the head of the troupe, who had retired from the business, as he had been injured by an accident. He had been in St. Petersburg, Vienna, Constantinople, Berlin, Paris, London, Britain, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Montreal, etc. He was a polished man of the world, who spoke English tolerably well, and lived on a competence that he had laid by. I have one of his printed circular letters, which shows that he had kept abreast with the spirit of the age. He heads it in an impressive manner:—"Compagnie Impériale Ottomane de la Tribu du Bagdad, composée de 30 personnes, 30 hommes et femmes, sous la direction du Chev. Sidi-Hadj-Ali-Ben-Mahommed de la Tribu Beni-Zoug-Zoug, Décorée du Sultan de la Turquie." He adds a facsimile of the Sultan's seal, and also the Turkish symbol ☪, the crescent and the morning star.

Of course much of the above is proof of the Chevalier's inventive genius, for neither he nor his people ever saw Bagdad, though it is probable he may have received some recognition from the Sultan. He has as much of the Arab about him as our Romanis have.

It almost makes one giddy to try to bridge over the vast abyss of nearly 6000 years that separates this chief of a band of Gypsy acrobats from him who led his troupe to ancient Egypt in the days of the Fourth Dynasty. But a more startling fact regarding these ancient and modern Romani showmen is in reserve for us, viz. that their patron saint now is (and probably always was) *Moussa*, or rather his descendant, Sidi Hassan O Moussa, whose tomb in Sus is annually visited by these acrobats and jugglers. The saint enables them to handle snakes and work wonders, such as he himself worked when on earth. The tomb of the "original Moussa" was never found. The negroes from the Soudan worship Sidna Moussa Barra, Suldan el Bahar (our Lord Moses, the *Lord of the Sea!*). Barra is the Soudanese name for the sea, meaning the same as *Bahar*. They dance,

and behave somewhat like Aiissawas at their feasts. When they worship *Moussà*, they stick a staff in the ground, and wrapping ribbons round it, pray, "Help me, O Sidna Moussa!" They seem quite a different sect from the pious pilgrims to the tomb of Sidi Hassan O Moussa.

The Gypsy is, as respects his superstitions, his traditionary beliefs, and his habits (some of which might be improved), the most conservative and unchangeable of mortals. Even his half-brother, the Jew, in that respect is left far behind by the Romani. But the most singular and amusing trait of the Gypsy, which Leland has well described, is his cynical cosmopolitanism, and his contemptuous toleration of all faiths, as equally useful and equally false. He adopts the creed of those he is among as easily as he does their clothes or their poultry. He never allows his new religion to even become skin-deep, for it never gets beneath his shirt. When he leaves a country, he leaves it his old faith and his old clothes as a legacy, and is ready for new creeds and "pastures new."

If these acrobats of the Fourth Dynasty were Romanis, is it likely that 2000 years later they adopted and, what is more marvellous, ever after *retained* as their patron saint a wonder-working prophet of a strange race? Is it not more likely that Moses (Moussa) may have been, not a *name*, but a venerable, time-honoured *title of office*, a heritage from an ancient race of wonder-workers that then existed, and that—probably under a degenerate form—still exist?

I was delighted to find that one European at least beside myself has heard of the venerated Hassan O Moussa, for our able Vice-Consul at Mogador says that he has often been told of the pious pilgrims, snake-charmers, rope-dancers, jugglers, etc., who kneel at the tomb of the saint.

As these nomad showmen, 6000 years ago, were probably as enterprising as they now are, it is not likely that they limited their wanderings to the land of Egypt. Probably from time to time they may have visited, and have amazed and amused our savage ancestors, and ultimately may have brought with them the bronze age to prehistoric Europe, leaving behind them, from Ireland to the Black Sea, traditions of a race of marvellous magicians and cunning workers in metals who dwelt in caves—the Wayland Smiths of European folk-lore.

I shall, in a future article, try to show that they gave to the Greeks, and even to the Egyptians, some of their oldest gods and oracles, and that Northern savages owed to them many of the earliest germs of civilisation.

BU BACCHAR.

II.—TINKERS AND THEIR TALK.

"*Sie sprechen eine Sprache,*
Die ist so reich, so schön;
Doch keiner der Philologen
Kann diese Sprache verstehn."

"DONALD is brother to Thady," says the old Gaelic proverb; and if an excuse were needed for appearing on our Gypsy camping-ground arm-in-arm with an Irish Tinker, we might point to the many striking coincidences of life which link the Celtic to the Romani vagrant.

Happily such an apology is unnecessary, and would be indeed but scant courtesy to our guest. A *protégé* of the President of our Society, our friend the Tinker has been already introduced to us by Mr. MacRitchie, and as he is undoubtedly a good fellow, and worth knowing, there can be no impropriety in further cultivating his acquaintance. Although his less reputable English connections—the grinder and street hawker—may perhaps cause him to be somewhat coldly received by the more exclusive of our members, and though the pedigree which derives his descent from the "ould Picts" is possibly a little too conjectural to receive the seal of the College of Arms, yet still he comes of a good old stock, rich, if in nought else, in hereditary and developed characteristics, which, doubly serviceable, at once endear him to the anthropologist, and furnish an inviting field for the labours of the missionary and social reformer.

The Tinkers, or "Tincards" (as old Harman has it in his quaint *Fraternatye of Vacabondes*, cf. Gaelic *ceard*) are, in Ireland at least, as distinct a *caste* as our English Gypsies.[1] They are not recruited from other classes of society, and intermarry among themselves, often with but slight regard for the rites of the Church, or the table of prohibited degrees. Their exchange of wives, moreover, is a civility extended only to members of the clan.

[1] The principle family names of these old unlanded gentry are:—*In Ulster*—Kane (*Sâhon*), Barlow (*Nyikair*), Murray, Banks, Dunley, Watson, Latham, and M'Allister. *In Leinster*—Connor, Mackay, Hynes, Norris, Banks, Reynolds, Kelly, Brennan, Keegan and Costello. *In Connaught*—M'Dunnagh (*Sûbol*), Joyce, Mulholland, Riley, Gallaher, Simons, Dyer, Cawley, Fury, and Creenie. *In Munster*—Donovan, M'Dunnagh, Mangan, Carty, Cameford, Shinehan, and Rooney. A similar list of the names of Scotch and English tinker families would be of interest. Bunyan, by the way, does not now appear to figure among the latter. One English "grindler" had indeed heard of him, "heard as how he's a Bedford minkler, and writes books," but, as he somewhat unnecessarily assured me, "he had never met him."

The perfected product of this form of "exclusive dealing" is, as might be supposed, not unfitted for his peculiar *rôle* in life. Hard of skull as a Tipperary man, and glib of tongue as a Dublin car-boy, he roves jauntily from town to town, and from fair to fair, plying his craft as a smith or tinker, or, like Smilash, undertaking "domestic engineering in all its branches." Here we see him stealing, and there dealing in calves and asses; now in the north travelling *en famille*, winning his way by the smoothness of his tongue and "sweet reasonableness," and now in the west and south freebooting, after the manner of Jacques Callot's Bohémiens, in large and lawless bands.

Tabooed and dreaded by the peasantry, he seldom receives the hospitable shelter of their roof, sleeping at night in some barn or ruined cabin, or in the wattle hut, thatched with sods of turf and straw, which he builds for himself by the side of a ditch.[1] Here, in some remote spot, secure from observation, he takes up *lishgadh* and *yishgadh*, and applies himself at his leisure to his hereditary craft of coining.

His womankind, equally expert in the unlawful arts of life, practise thieving and fortune-telling, and find an easy prey in the ignorant and superstitious farmers' wives. Their *modus operandi* is simple. Two of the *bewers* engage the attention of the woman of the house; one of them reciting charms and lucky spells, while the other beats a large brass pan or kettle. A third meanwhile robs the house from the back.

One of their favourite methods of divination is by "tossing cups." Tea-leaves are brewed in a saucepan and poured into a cup. The Tinker-wife then calls three times on the three Persons of the Trinity, and, turning the cup upside down, tells the fortune by the shape taken by the leaves which adhere to the bottom and sides of the cup, in which she traces likenesses to events which she has previously been at the trouble to ascertain. Tinker wives also cast and remove the evil eye, prescribe in sickness, and deal in love potions and philters.

Often they quarrel among themselves over their ill-gotten spoil. Then, says my informant, they retire to a ruined castle or lonely

[1] Sometimes a tinker woman, travelling a little in advance of the band, begs a night's lodging at a farm-house under the pretence of being alone. Then, if successful, she hangs out her *patrin*, and the rest of the band, on their arrival, descend upon the house, which they occupy during their stay in the neighbourhood, defying removal. This practice is, however, so well understood in the west and south of Ireland, that tinker women are seldom received as guests.

hillside, and, while the men do battle, the women shriek untranslatable defiance at each other. "*Gâp mwī-ïl thūr!*" yells one. "*And mwīlsha arárk nadherum!*" "And mine too, mother!" echoes the tender babe, slung like Harman's "kinching morte" to his mother's back. Soon the fray becomes general, in which young and old engage with equal fury, to end not unfrequently in the arrest of the whole party, and the restoration of the cause of dispute to its rightful owner.

Like all true citizens of the road, the Tinkers protect themselves by the use of a secret language, variously known as Shelta, Sheldrū, Sheldhru, Shīldru, Shelter, and Shelteroχ, "Bog Latin," "Tinkers' Cant," or "the ould thing."[1] This is the language of their everyday life, and is, or was until quite recently, spoken habitually among themselves—a fact indirectly attested by the statement of an old Connaught tradesman that "the ould Tinkers could spake naythur English nor Irish corrictly."

The Tinkers themselves have a firm belief in the genuineness and antiquity of their own tongue. It is a "*thari shīrth gather* to *kam*"—"a spache come down from father to son," says one. "Shure! it was spoke by the first thraveller that iver tuk to the road," says another, to whom the question of the origin of language presents no difficulties, doubtless regarding it as a heaven-provided *tharal* for the old Adam of the *Krish-minkūrs.*

The remote origin of this jargon is attested not only by the universal tradition of the people, but by the number of Shelta words which have passed into English cant, some, at least, as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. Sounder and more interesting evidence of the extraordinary antiquity of Shelta is, however, contained in Shelta itself. Historical students of Gaelic are, of course, familiar with the tendency to aspiration which has exercised such a fatally refining influence upon the old language. The late Dr. Angus Smith, in his *Loch Etive and the Sons of Uisnach,* cites an instance where a phrase, "*Achadh a Chath,*" has been corrupted to *Achaw,* and proceeds to observe: "The language, I must confess, is breaking down; and first the consonants go, and then the intermediate vowels, and nothing will be left soon, as a friend says, but 'pechs[2] and sighs.'" Sometimes we find the original sound of a word surviving in a local name, as in *Inch-na-Damf* (Island of the Deer), where the

[1] For previous contributions to Shelta, see this *Journal,* Nos. for October 1889 and April 1890.

[2] "Peching" signifies "panting" in Scotch.

last word is still pronounced Daınf, although the same word as ordinarily used has shrunk to *damh* (pronounced dav or daö). Dr. O'Donovan, referring to the same aspirating principle in Irish Gaelic, says: "A tendency to aspiration seems to be a conspicuous characteristic of all the dialects of the Celtic, and that it belongs to the Irish in particular will be seen by the forms which some words, borrowed from the English, have assumed in some parts of Ireland, as *Campa*, a camp (pronounced in Clare and Kerry as if written 'coumha'); *plaigh*, the plague (pronounced 'plaw' in many places). It is also perceivable in some words which are pronounced with an aspiration in some districts, but not generally, as *altoir*, an altar (pronounced 'althoir'); *deatach*, smoke (pronounced in some places 'deathach'); *gealtan*, a lunatic (pronounced 'gealthan')."

Now in Shelta we meet with numerous instances of the survival of the archaic unaspirated forms, clearly indicating that these words must have originated before the modification of the Gaelic took place. This will be evident upon reference to the following short list, in which Old Irish words, derived from or cognate with Latin, are compared with Shelta and Modern Gaelic:—

Latin.	Ancient Irish.	Shelta (spelled phonetically).[1]	Modern Irish Gaelic.
Dominica.	*Domnach.*	*Jŭmnik.*	*Domhnach* (pr. *Dhōnach*).
Rex, regis.	*Rig.*	*Srīgo.*	*Righ* (pr. *Rī*).
Capra.	*Gabar.*	*Gaverog.*	*Gabhar* (pr. *Gauer*).
Cor, cordis.	*Cridi.*	*Grīsh.*	*Croidhe* (pr. *krī*).
Pater.	*Atair.*	*Gather.*	*Athair* (pr. *a-her*).
Mater.	*Matair.*	*Nadherum.*	*Mathair* (pr. *ma-her*).

Here it will be seen that, with the exception of *Gaverog*, the Shelta word, in each case, retains the radical sounds which the modern Gaelic has lost. Gaelic scholars will doubtless be able to speak with more or less precision as to the period at which this change occurred; some idea may, however, be formed from the fact that in *Cormac's Glossary* (attributed to Cormac, King and Bishop of Cashel, *obt.* 903), some of these words, such as *mathair, athair, bothar*—all unaspirated in Shelta—have already assumed their modern aspirated form.

Though this, in itself, implies a great degree of antiquity, I incline to think that Shelta is, or was originally, derived from an even older

[1] Here and throughout the present paper the following signs are made use of:—*a* as in bat, *â* in bought, *aa* in bah, *e* in bet, *ē* in bate, *i* in bit, *ī* in beet, *o* in not, *ō* in note, *u* in foot, *ŭ* in but, *ū* in boot, *au* in bout, *ü* in Germ. *grün*, *ar* in bar, *ăr* in marry, *ŭr* in her, *ch* in church, *dh* in the, *th* in thin, *sh* in fish, *zh* in vision, *χ* in Germ. *Buch*. 'h in Germ. *Weg*. The following sounds are interchangeable in Shelta: *T* and *Th*, *T* and *Ch*, *D* and *Dh*, *D* and *J*, *L* and *R*, *S* and *Sh*.

language than Old Irish, probably from a prehistoric Celtic, parent of the various dialects with which we are familiar. We are confronted by the fact that Shelta contains words, some of which are now idiomatic to the Irish and others to the Scotch dialect of Gaelic; and though this, considered alone, might possibly be otherwise explained, upon what other hypothesis than that suggested can we account for the existence of such a word as *skev*? This Shelta word, which means "fish," is back-slang for a form *vesk* or *fesk*, which, it will be seen, retains the *f*, or *p*, of the cognate Latin (*piscis*), Gothic (*fisk-s*), and Welsh (*pysg*), although this is wanting in the old Irish form of the same word (*iasg*).

Not all Shelta words are, however, equally old. Selecting at random a few words from Cormac, which differ as to aspiration from the modern Gaelic, we find that while some of these, such as *lam* (mod. Gael. *lamh*) and *lemlachd* (mod. Gael. *leamhnachd*) are of the same stratum as our Shelta, others, such as *bliadain* (mod. Gael. *bliadhain*) and *gabur* (mod. Gael. *gabhar*), are older than the source of the corresponding Shelta words, unless, indeed, the latter have been subsequently aspirated. Another small class of Shelta words, based upon words borrowed from the English, are clearly of much later origin.

Shelta is spoken, with a few slight local variations, by the Tinkers (and kindred classes)[1] throughout the four provinces of Ireland, and, if one may judge from the brief but extremely interesting specimens in the Tiree list, the Scottish dialect differs little from that of the sister isle. In England Shelta is spoken in a very corrupt form by the knife-grinder, street hawker, and other shady characters. For purposes of convenience I shall refer to this as "English Shelta," although no very precise line of demarcation can be drawn between it and Shelta proper. In its lowest form it may be described as a Babelonish, model-lodging-house jargon, compounded of Shelta, rhyming-slang, flying-cant, and Romines. Scarcely a tithe of the words in daily use by the Irish tinker are intelligible to his English half-breed cousin, while the meanings of the words employed are less clearly apprehended, and the sound frequently contorted into a resemblance to English words. Welsh Shelta, if it exist at all, has still to be discovered.

In the spring of the present year, while wandering through the courts and byways of Liverpool, I formed the acquaintance of an old

[1] Viz. the *Rinshkal*, or sievemakers; the *Stchümera*, or pipers; and the *Gyukera*, or beggars.

Ulster tinker, named John Barlow (*Gisson Nyikair*), and finding that he was one of the "rale old *minkurs*," or, as he himself said, "not wan of thim upstarts that has a new word ivery day," I afterwards collected from him a vocabulary of several hundred Shelta words, and a good deal of curious information respecting the tinker caste. This old man, though over 79 years of age, was as young-hearted as a lad, and took much friendly interest in the progress of my work. "I was lyin' awake last night thinking of some cur'ous old worrds for ye," he said to me upon one occasion. Sometimes he suggested works which might be of assistance to me. "Have ye iver been through the 'Universal'?" he asked in an encouraging tone, when I was struggling with some peculiarly Celtic sound. I had to plead entire ignorance of this authority. "Och! that's the book for ye. I'm towld it lades ye on from the alphabit up to anti-titterumtairums (? anti-trinitarians), and the man that's been through the 'Double Universal'!—(a long pause of admiration)—well! he can spill about the right way!"

A careful analysis of this vocabulary shows conclusively that the language of the tinkers is a dialect or jargon exclusively of Celtic origin, though, like one of their own stolen asses, it is so docked and disguised as to be scarcely recognisable. Shelta words may be roughly classed as "corrupt or archaic Gaelic," "Gaelic back-slang" and "rhyming-slang," but as the precise connection between Shelta and Gaelic is a vital part of my subject, and as the various modes of disguise employed in the formation of the former are frequently too complex to be self-evident, I shall here endeavour to explain their construction in some detail.

The number of Shelta words in which the Gaelic root suffers no disguise is comparatively small, and of these still fewer are used in their ordinary significance. Examples of the latter are:—

SHELTA.	GAELIC.
Braas, food.	*Bras*.
Grīsh, heart.	*Croidhe* (pr. krī). *Cride* (old Irish).
Jŭmnik, Sunday.	*Domhnach* (pr. Dhōnaχ). *Domnach* (O. I.).
Mŭog, pig.	*Muc*.
Nedas, *Nedhers*, place.	*Ionadas*.
Shē, six.	*Se* (pr. shē).
Shkiblin, barn.	*Sgiobolin* (dim.).

The important word *Kīena*, "house" should also be noticed here. Whitley Stokes, in a note to the obsolete Irish Gaelic word *Ca* in his

edition of Cormac's Glossary, says: "The old Irish *Cae*, 'house,' is from the root *kvî*, Skr. *çî*, whence *κειμαι*, *qui-es*, and Goth. *hai-ms*, Eng. *home*. The Low Latin *cayum*, 'house' is probably from an old Celtic *caion* of which the dat. or abl. sg. *caio* occurs in Endlicher's glossary, *Revue Archéologique*, Mai, 1868."

More frequently the word is used in a perverted sense.

SHELTA.	GAELIC.
Bïüer, woman, wife.	*Piuthair* (pr. plüer), sister. Sco. idiom.
Blanog, cow.	*Bleanach*, cow with full udder, from *Bleadh*, to milk.
Kraudug, hen.	*Craideach*, scald-crow.
Laburth, curse.	*Labhairt* (pr. lauerch), speech.
Lŭrrk, eye.	*Leurgus*, sight.
Sharkar, brother.	*Searcthoir* (pr. sharkoir), lover.
Shīrk, grass.	*Seirg* (pr. shērk), clover.
Sūïbli, boy.	*Siubhlach* (pr. shūlaχ), vagrant.
Warth, one.	*Uath* (pr. wa), single, alone. Ir. idiom.

In some cases the original termination is dropped:—

Fē, meat.	*Feoil* (pr. fēōil).
Lī, bed.	*Leaba* (pr. lyaba).
Pī, mouth.	*Beul* (pr. bē-ul).

In others a cryptic suffix is added:—

Gaverog, goat.	*Gabhar* (pr. gaver or gaur).
Shīdrug, soldier.	*Saighdear* (pr. sai-dyūr).

A few adverbs take the suffix *rth* (*rt*):—

Ashírth, down.	*Sios* (pr. shīs).
Ashúrt, *Ashúrth*, } in.	*Asteach* (pr. astye'h).
Nyúrth, now.	*Anois* (pr. anísh).
Swúrth, up.	*Suas* (pr. sūas).

The following are examples of what Lewis Carrol terms "portmanteaus," *i.e.* "two meanings packed up into one word":—

Dalyōn, God.	*Dia aluinn*, beautiful God.
Kamera, dog.	*Cu marbhadh*, killing dog.
Mīdherr, devil.	*Midhiadhach*, ungodly.
Nēfin, shame.	*Naire fein*, self-shame.

See also the personal pronouns:—

Mū-ilsha, My-*jils*, My-*dīl*, } I, me.[1]	*Mo thoil-sa*, *Mo thoil*, } my will. (pr. mō-ilsa).
Du-ilsha, Your-*jils*, Your-*dīl*, } thou, thee.	*Do thoil-sa*, *Do thoil*, } thy will (pr. dō-ilsa).

The *j* and *d* in *jils* and *dīl* represent the unaspirated *toil*.

[1] In the slang of Roeselare, Belgium, "I or me" is "Mechels." *See* preface to Mr. De Seyn's pamphlet; reviewed pp. 249-250 *post*.—[ED.]

A large number of Shelta words are formed by transposing the principal letters of the Gaelic word. This species of back-slang is, of course, purely phonetic, differing in this respect from the more artificial letter-reversing back-slang of costers and cabmen.[1]

Some perfect instances of this are:—

SHELTA.	GAELIC.
Ad, *Od*, } two.	*Da.*
Aχárram, to-morrow.	*Amarach.*
Aχím, out.	*Amuigh.*
Chimma, stick.	*Maide* (pr. nearly like majja).
Gâp, kiss.	*Pog.*
Glomhach, { Tiree; *Liogach*, { List; *Glox*, } man.	*Comhlach* (pr. kōloχ).
Kam, son.	*Mac.*
Lakin, girl.	*Cailin.*
Lōber, to hit.	*Buile.*
Lŭog, meal.	*Ullag*, mouthful of meal, Sc. idiom.
Nâp, white.	*Ban*, pale.
Nīdya, person.	*Duine.*
Nyuk, head.	*Ceann.*
Skai, water.	*Uisge* (pr. ishka).
Skai-hōp, whisky.	*Uisge-beatha* (pr. ishke-bâ).

In the following transpositions the consonantal sounds are modified by aspiration or nasal pronunciation:—

Aavali, *Aavari*, } town.	*Baile.*
(*Ellum* seems to be another form of the same word.)	
Dorra, bread.	*Aran.*
Lai-imon, year.	*Bliadhain* (pr. blīa-an).
Lampa, bag.	*Mala.*
Libba, blood.	*Fuil* (pr. fwil).
Maχon, cup.	*Copan.*
Nŭp, back.	*Muin* (pr. mwin).
Nūp, to micturate.	*Mun* (pr. mūn).
Rabbin, Mary.	*Mairin* (dim.).
Tholop, belly.	*Maodal.*

In these we have more instances of the survival in Shelta of the unaspirated forms:—

Elima, milk.	{ *Leamhnachd* (pr. lyūnoχ). { *Lemlachd* (Old Irish).
(Mr. Leland's *Alemnoch* seems to be derived from a form *Leamnachd.*)	
Gr*ē*, to rise.	*Ei-rghe* (pr. aire).
M*âlya*, hand.	{ *Lamh* (pr. lâv). { *Lam* (Old Irish).
M*arrk*, bone.	*Cnaimh* (pr. kra-iv).
Th*ari*, to say.	{ *Raidhim* (pr. râ-im). { *Raidim* (Old Irish).
Th*ōber*, T*ōber*, } road.	*Bothar* (pr. bō-her).

[1] Where *Evig sū* an *epip* of *occapot* = give us a pipe of tobacco.

And in the following, the sound of the Gaelic unaspirated *d, t*, having a sound approximating to *j, ch* (cf. *Chimma* in a preceding list):—

SHELTA.	GAELIC.
Ch*al*, half.	*Leath* (pr. lya).
Ch*ĕrrp*, to cook.	*Bruith* (pr. brī), to boil.
Ch*innoχ*, thing.	*Nidh* (pr. nī).

In the following transpositions the same *j*-sound resolves itself into its component parts *d, sh* (cf. *Grīsh* in a preceding list):—

*St*ēsh, yes.	*Seadh* (pr. sha).
Nī-desh, no.	*Nī h-eadh* (pr. nī-ha).

The following words are transposed "portmanteaus":—

G*yeta*, twenty.	*Da deich*, twice ten.
Limpath, blanket.	*Mo plaid*, my blanket.
Myéna, *Mu-énya*, } yesterday.	*Mo ane*, my yesterday.
*N*adh*erum*, mother.	*An mathair*, the mother.
*Na*sdé*sh*, here.	*'S an aite-sa*, in this place.

A few reversed words take the suffix *k, sk*:—

Mŭnnik, name.	*Ainm* (pr. anum).
Libbisk, Philip.	*Philip*.
Th*alosk*, day.	*Latha* (pr. lâ-a).

A few reversed words repeat the final syllable:—

Lŭggil, to cry.	*Goil*.
Mamerum, room.	*Mo rum*, my room.
Shkimmishk, drunk.	*Misgeach* (pr. mishga).

A small number of Shelta words betray an inverted resemblance to English, which gave me my first clue to unravelling the jargon. Some of the words from which these are formed are, however, true Gaelic, to which, or to some one of the Celtic dialects, we owe our English equivalent:—

Nŭggi, gun.	*Gunna*.
Nŭspog, spoon.	*Spunog*.
Râg, car.	*Carr*.

Others are familiar words which the Irish have adopted:—

Nimpa, pint.	*Pinta*.
Rispun, prison.	*Priosun*.

Others, again, are borrowed directly from the English:—

Horsk, across.
Nŭmpa, pound. (*Poona* in cant.)
Nyŭggi, guinea.

A large number of Shelta words are formed by prefixing arbitrary initials to the Gaelic word or its transposition, some of these words being additionally disguised by cryptic suffixes.

Of these prefixes *Gr* (or *G*) is undoubtedly the favourite. This is prefixed to the Gaelic word when it commences with a vowel :—

SHELTA.	GAELIC.
Gather, father.	*Athair* (pr. a-her). *Atair* (old Irish).
Granhē, to know.	*Aithnigh* (pr. ana).
Grasol, ass.	*Asal.*
Grēdhern, face.	*Eadan* (pr. ēdhan).
Grimsha, month, year, weather.	*Aimsir* (pr. amsher), time, weather.
Grŭbber, to work.	*Oibir* (p. ŭbber).

Or is substituted for the true initial when a consonant :—

Get, hot.	*Teth* (pr. tĕ).
Granko, turkey.	*Franncach.*
Grenōg, window.	*Fuinneog.*
Grīχol, tooth.	*Fiacal.*
Gripper, supper.	*Suipeir* (pr. sippēr).

It is similarly prefixed to inverted words :—

Grīntyūr, supper.	*Dinneir.*
Grūla, apple.	*Ubhal* (pr. ū-al).

Some of these transposed and falsely initialled words are further disguised by a suffix, generally *th* (cf. *minyurth*, etc.) :—

Gâth, young.	*Og.*
Grâth, gold.	*Or.*
Grūth, new.	*Ur*, fresh.
Gūtth, black.	*Dubh* (pr. dhū).

Or sometimes *sk* (cf. *Thalosk*, etc.) :—

Grīnlesk, flax.	*Lion.*

The letters *g* and *r* are also woven into words containing either of these letters separately, to complete the combination :—

Agrésh, back.	*Air ais* (pr. arásh).
Gris, spell.	*Gis.*
Grūna, gown.	*Guna.*

And so with the transposed word :—

Grolsa, lazy.	*Leisga.*

It is a significant fact that in English Shelta and cant we find words (not used in Shelta proper), formed by the application of the same prefix to English words.

Graft, craft (used for *grŭbber*, i.e. work).
Grătch, watch.
Gray and *grŭgger*, tea and sugar.
Greddycoat, petticoat.

Next to *Gr*, *Sh* (*S*, *Sr*, *St*) is the principal change factor in Gaelic rhyming slang. We find it, like *Gr*, prefixed to the initial:—

SHELTA.	GAELIC.
Shlīūχ, to read.	*Leugh.*
Shlug, weak.	*Lag.*
Slūn, Monday.	*Luain.*
Srâpa, string.	*Ropadh* (pr. rōpa).
Srīgo, king.	*Righ* (pr. rī). *Rig* (old Irish).

substituted for the true initial:—

Sharrog, red.	*Dearg* (pr. darrog).
Shlūχ, rain.	*Fliuch*, wet.
Sluna, glass.	*Gloine.*
Sŭggŭrn, bacon.	*Bagun.*

or prefixed to the transposed word:—

Shark, to cut.	*Gearr* (pr. gar).
Sharka, four.	*Ceathair* (pr. câ-her).
Shīka, three.	*Tri* (pr. trī).
Shūka, five.	*Cuig* (pr. cū-ig).
Sinaul, beer.	*Leann* (pr. lyan).
Solk, to take.	*Glac.*
Staffa, far.	*Fada.*
Stoffrik, Patrick.	*Padruig.*

Rhymes are also formed by the prefixes *B*, *K*, *L*, *M*, *Th*, etc.:—

Aχíver	*A roimhe* (pr. arīva).
Binni, [*Bin*], Tiree List, } small.	*Min*, neat, fine.
Bŭg, to give.	*Thug* (pr. hug), gave.
Kărrib, to kill.	*Marbh* (pr. marriv).
Minker, tinker.	*Tinceir.*
(*Minkler* is formed from the Sco. "Tinkler.")	
Rīlthug, quilt.	*Scaoilteog*, sheet.

Co-instances of the use of some of these occur also in "English Shelta":—

Shant, pint.
Mankerso, handkerchief.

In addition to the foregoing examples there are a few other modes of disguise (or perhaps natural changes) found in Shelta, which, through lack of sufficient specimens for comparison, I less clearly apprehend, and which, indeed, as being less frequently used, hardly demand explanation. I may, however, point out that in a few cases the letter *n*, when not initial in a Gaelic word, changes into Shelta *r*, while the true initial remains unchanged.

Karri, to buy.	*Ceannuigh* (pr. kanni).
Glōrhi, to hear.	*Cluinn.*
Thur, anus.	*Ton.*
Thirra, fire.	*Teine* (pr. tinna).

Grīt, sick, from the Gaelic *tinn*, appears to be another instance of this change, afterwards disguised by inversion and prefixed *G*.

In one or two cases, also, Shelta *th* = Gaelic *m*:—

Nyēthus, James.	*Seumas*.
Oidh, butter.	*Im*.

It may be of some assistance in resolving an unfamiliar Shelta word to remember that words commencing with *Gr*, *S*, *Sh*, *St*, and *Sr* are probably rhyming slang, and words commencing with *Ch*, *L*, *N*, and *R* are probably back slang; that the terminations *th* and *sk* are probably cryptic; that the initial *M* of a Gaelic word changes into *p* or *mp*, and final *d*, *t* (*dh*, *th*) into *ch* in Shelta back-slang; and that *M* is sometimes introduced into a word to help out an anagram.

The tinkers' language, of which my vocabulary is by no means exhaustive, is copious enough to express all the everyday needs of a material existence. It contains words for most of the principal nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and prepositions, the less important grammatical particles being either expressed in English or Gaelic, or, as is more usually the case, altogether omitted. Compounds, too, are largely used to express ideas for which there are no Shelta words, as for instance:—

Bīŏer skēv, fishwife,	from *bīŏer*, woman, and *skev*, fish.
Fē klītug, mutton,	„ *fē*, meat, and *klītug*, sheep.
Krīpa shurral, hare,	„ *krīpa*, cat, and *shurri*, to run.
Nedhers-a-thirra, grate,	„ *nedhers*, place, and *thirra*, fire.

In idiom Shelta conforms to that of the language most familiar to the speaker; this in the Tiree list being Scotch Gaelic, and in Mr. Leland's specimens English. My own examples hover somewhere between the two, the general order of words approximating to English, but the position of the adjective after the noun, and a few similar constructions, being followed as in Gaelic. Neither aspiration nor eclipsis are observed in Shelta, even when the language is spoken according to the Gaelic idiom. The few inflections proper to Shelta are generally referable to Gaelic. None of these are met with in "English Shelta."

One minor, but interesting, result of our wider acquaintance with Shelta will be the new light thrown upon the origin of a number of cant and slang terms, many of which are derived from Shelta, as Shelta is derived from Gaelic. Derivation is indeed one of the weak points of the professors of slang. With all becoming respect for the

masters of this noble science, it must be regretfully acknowledged that the potshot, rather than the comparative method, finds favour with them, and that the ideal slang dictionary, which shall exhibit the several stages of change, corruption, and decay through which these ill-starred words pass, is still, with the millennium, a pleasant dream of the future. Yet the history of these vagrants is surely too interesting to be ignored. Well-born and of good position, kidnapped from their home, and pressed into the service of a secret jargon, escaping only to become the tools of a criminal cant, kicked from the thieves' kitchen into the flash lodging-house, cast upon the streets with few traces left them of their gentle origin, fraternised with by 'Arry, patronised by the music-hall artiste and sporting-paragraph writer, and finally taken under the protection of our gilded youth, they, not unfrequently, if they survive this experience, regain their character, and are readmitted into the language of literature and polite life.

I cannot boast of much personal knowledge in this department of learning. Wedded to Romani, with only a passing interest, or at most a purely Platonic regard, for my new friend Shelta, my acquaintance with the *demi-monde* of words is extremely limited, and consequently I claim no completeness for the following short list of cant words which owe their origin to the tinkers' jargon:—

SHELTA.	CANT OR SLANG.
Bīūer, woman.	*Pure*, "a lady—applied derisively to one of questionable reputation." Hotten gives also *Burerk*, "a lady, a showily-dressed woman," and *Murerk*, "the mistress of the house." Messrs. Barrère and Leland, quoting the latter word, connect it with "Spanish cant, *marca*, a woman, Ital. furbeschi, *marcona*, and French argot, *marque*.
Chērrp, to lie.	*Chirp*, "to talk," "to give information, to peach."
Gami, bad.	*Gammy*.
Gloχ, man.	*Gloak*, "man" (old cant). *Bloke* is probably a variant of the same word. B. and L. derive the latter from "Dutch *blok*, block, log, fool." Hotten gives us our choice of "Gypsy and Hindoo *Loke*, and North *bloacher*, any large animal."
Kyena, *Kena*, or *Ken*, house.	*Ken* (old cant). One of our oldest cant words, occurring in Harman and all subsequent writers. Given as Eng. Gypsy by Borrow in his "Lavo-Lil," but with questionable accuracy. Mr. Leland, in *The English Gypsies*, p. 88, says, "*Ken*, a low term for house, is possibly of Gypsy origin." B. and L. class this word as "Gypsy and oriental."
Krīpa, cat.	*Creeper*.

Shelta.	Cant or Slang.
Lŭsh, to eat or drink.	*Lush*, "to drink." Hotten and others derive this from "Lushington, the brewer." B. and L. suggest a number of derivations, adding, "more probably from Gypsy *lush* or *losher*, to drink, or Germ. *löschen*."
Lyag, to lose or pawn.	*Lug*, "to pawn." *Lug chovey*, "pawn shop." B. and L. derive from Scotch *lagd*, "laid by, put away." Mackay finds the etymons of *Lug-chovey* in the Gaelic words *lugh*, swift, *diobhail*, destruction.
Mâlya, hand.	*Morley*, *Morler*, *Mauley*, or *Mauler*, "hand or fist" —"that with which one strikes, as with a mall," Hotten.
Mijog, shilling.	*Hog*, otherwise *Grunter*, may possibly be a contraction for this word.
Misli, to go.	*Mizzle*, "to run or sneak off." Hotten, who is almost as sound an etymologist as Cormac, says beautifully, "to disappear as in a mist, from *mizzle*, a drizzling rain, a Scotch mist."
Mŭnkeri, country.	*Monkery* or *Mackray*, "country." Hotten quotes Hall, "originally an old word for a quiet or monastic life."
Mŭgadh, fool.	*Mug*.
Mŭnni, good.	*Monogen*, "good."
Mŭnnik, name.	*Monniker*, "a person's name or signature," Hotten. "This word," say L. and B., "is a corruption of *monarch*, literally 'The King,' 'Number one,' evidently a term suggested by exalted ideas of one's own importance."
Nīdya, person.	*Needy*, or *needy-mizzler*, "fellow or tramp."
Rīrk, comb.	*Rake*.
Rujŭ, to woo.	*Roger*, "beschlafen" in Baumann's *Londinismen*.
Shkimmishk, drunk.	*Kisky* or *Mixed*.
Tânik, or *Thânik*, halfpenny.	*Tonic*. In a thief's letter published in "Tom and Jerry," we find "Vy it an't vorth a single tonic."
Tōber, road.	*Tober* or *Toby*. This old word has found acceptance in every branch of cant. *High Toby*, the high road. *High-tobyman*, highwayman. *Toba*, ground, is given as strolling-players' cant in the "Sporting Chronicle." Borrow in his "Lavo-Lil" calls Tobbar "a Rapparee word," deriving it from the Gaelic *Tobar*, source, fountain. B. and L. derive from "Gypsy *tober*, the road." Baumann records the fact that *Toby* is a contraction for Tobias. (Tobias, it will be remembered, was an early traveller, who took to the road, accompanied by his dog and the angel Raphael).

Mr. Crofton, in his letter to *The Academy*, happily conjectures that the slang word *rum* may be back-slang for Gaelic *mor*, great. This is the more probable since *rum* or *rome*, in old cant, was used to signify "good" or "great," instead of in its modern sense of

"queer," just as the latter word then meant not "queer" but "bad." We have examples of these usages in:—

Rome-ville, London.
Rum-pad, the high-road.
Rum gloak (Shelta, *Thom gloχ*), well-dressed man.
and *Queer prad*, broken-kneed horse.
Queer bowse, bad beer.
Queer cove, an ill-principled man.
Queer amen-curler, a drunken parish-clerk.

This word may have been used by the tinkers at one time, and abandoned on its becoming too generally known, or the modern Shelta word *thom* may possibly be a further disguise of the same word, by a substitution of the criptic *th* for the true initial.

It is indeed strange that the existence of a tongue so ancient and widespread as Shelta should have remained entirely unsuspected until Mr. Leland, with whom the undivided honour of this discovery rests, first made it public in the pages of *Macmillan's Magazine*. Every one familiar with the charm of treatment with which the gifted author of *Hans Breitmann* invests his congenial subjects, and the acquaintance with multitudinous jargons which he might have brought to bear on the elucidation of Shelta, will regret that his efforts in this direction should have been apparently confined to the invocation of a Pictess. As, however, this lady does not seem to have accepted his very pressing invitation, I shall—subject to her correction when she thinks fit to appear—here add a few simple notes for the benefit of those referring to Mr. Leland's chapter on Shelta.

The list of words obtained from the English "fern-fencer" at Aberystwith (*The Gypsies*, pp. 358-360) may be considered as a representative specimen of "English Shelta." Out of the sixty words and variants which it contains, twenty (viz. *gallopas, stiff, yack* (Rom. *yack*), *mush-faker, dinnessy, stall, crack, prat, borers, jumpers, ogles, sy, tusheroon* (? corruption of Rom. *posh-korona*), *snips, dingle-fakir, dunnovans, tré-moon, max, chiv, screc* (Gael. *sgriobh*), and *reader*) are not Shelta but cant, and two (viz. *pani* and *mushgraw*) Romani.

Page 358 line 16, *needi* = fellow, person. Cf. *nidias*, p. 370.
" 358 " 21, *th'eenik*. Cf. *ainoch*, p. 368.
" 358 " 25, *nêd askan* = *nedhers-ken*. Cf. *nadas*, p. 370.
" 358 " 26, *glad'herin*. Cf. *gladdher*, p. 359. This word in its strict meaning hardly represents "ringing the changes." *Gladher* is the Shelta word for "skin," and *Gladheri* the equivalent of the cant "Shalla-cove," *i.e.* a half-naked beggar, who dresses in rags to attract charity. *Gladhering* consequently is going out as a *Gladheri*, *i.e.* showing one's *gladher*.
" 358 " 29, *strépuck*. This is really the Gaelic *striopach*—*rīpuχ*, *rīpū*, or *rīpuk*, being the Shelta form.

Page 358 line 32, *kurrb.* Cf. *kerrb*, p. 360, and *carob*, p. 369. The true meaning of the word is "to kill," though here and always in Eng. Shelta used for "hit." The proper word for "hit" is *lōber,* of which a variant *luber* occurs on p. 369.

" 359 " 9, *charrshom*, crown = *chal-sōn*, half-crown.

" 359 " 13, *trípo-rauniel* = *trīp* o' *rauniel*, *i.e.* sup of beer, *rauniel*, a word which I never heard, being apparently another form of my *sinaul* (Gael. *leann*) disguised by initial *r* instead of *s*.

" 369 " 15, *bug*, talk = give.

The second and much longer list of words obtained from an Irish tinker at Philadelphia is very valuable. It contains little cant and no Romani, but a few Gaelic words and sentences are improperly given as Shelta.

Page 364 line 9, *Theddy*, fire = *therra* or *thirra*. The following variants are also given:—*térry*, a heating-iron, p. 365 (probably in mistake); *tédhi*, *thédi*, coal, fuel of any kind, p. 366; and *terri*, coal, p. 367.

" 364 " 12, *leicheen*, girl. Cf. *lárkin*, p. 359, also *lychyen*, people, p. 367.

" 364 " 25, *merrih*, ? nose = *mĕrkog*, with which cf. *menoch*, p. 367.

" 364 " 35, *mailyas* or *moillhas*, fingers = *mailya*, hand, p. 370. Cf. *mailyas*, arms, p. 365, and *mailyen*, to feel, p. 366.

" 365 " 2, *réspun*, to steal, really prison. Cf. *reesbin*, p. 359.

" 365 " 3, *skoich*, water, blood, liquid, really water. Cf. *skoichen*, rain, p. 366, lit. watering, and *skoihôpa*, whisky, p. 365.

" 365 " 5, *răglan* or *reglan*, hammer, really iron. Cf. *riaglon*, p. 366.

" 365 " 16, *lyesken cherps* = telling lies.

" 365 " 17, *loshools*, flowers. Cf. *lashool*, nice or pretty, p. 366.

" 365 " 29, *anált*, to sweep, to broom, and line 30, *anălken*, to wash, one and the same word, and means literally to clean. It may be noted that the *in*, *en*, *ain* in which so many of Mr. Leland's verbs (defined in the infinitive) terminate, is really the English participle ending *ing*. *Goihed*, to leave, p. 368, is similarly *goihe*'d = left, and *grannis*, know, p. 367, *granni*'s, knows. The infinitive is too abstract a conception for the tinker mind to apprehend.

" 366 " 1, *Krădyin* = *kradyi*-in'. Cf. *kradyin*, *kradhyī*, slow, p. 367 (lit. "stop") and *krady*, p. 370.

" 366 " 2, *oura* = my *avari*.

" 366 " 22, *salkaneoch*, to take = *salk*-in'. Cf. *salt* (i.e. *salk*'d), arrested, taken, p. 367.

" 366 " 25, *sobyé*. Variant of *subli* or *soobli*, pp. 369 and 358.

" 366 " 29, *thomyok* = *thom yook*.

" 367 " 3, *gotherna*, policeman, lit. black one. Cf. my *gloχ gut*, policeman, lit. black man; *gutherna*, the same word, I have heard used for smith or blacksmith.

" 367 " 5, *Dyūkās* or *Jukas*, Gorgio, Gentile. This word is not, so far as I can ascertain, of universal application. My old tinker says it is only applied to the *gloχ thŭrpogs* or ragmen, otherwise known as *sharkin stīmeras* or "kay-hole whistlers."

" 367 " 6, *Misli* = to go. V. p. 364.

" 367 " 17, *Shingomai*, newspaper, ? from *shŭng*, to understand.

" 367 " 21, *tomnumpa* = *tom numpa*. V. *numpa*, p. 364.

" 367 " 24, *nyadas* = place. Cf. *nadas*, p. 370.

Page 367 line 28, *miseli* = go. V. *misli*, p. 364.
„ 368 „ 5, *shliema* = *shtīma*.
„ 368 „ 8, *yiesg* is Gaelic, the Shelta word is *skev*.
„ 368 „ 10, *cherpin*, book, lit. "lying."
„ 368 „ 21, *clisp*, to fall, let fall, and line 22, *dishpen*, to break by letting fall, both the same word, and means "to break."
„ 368 „ 27, *grannien* = knowing. V. *granny*, p. 370.
„ 369 „ 3, *laprogh*, bird, lit. "duck," as in p. 365.

The little Shelta song on p. 370, which Mr. Leland's modesty forbade him to translate too literally, but which Miss Laura Smith seemed to rather like when it was sung to her as a "Romany ballad,"[1] turns out, oddly enough, to be only Irish Gaelic transliterated into modern phonetics, and, as my readers will be relieved to learn, not too improper to justify that young lady's approval of it. The numerals given in the preceding page are also (as Mr. Wilson pointed out) Gaelic, and the same observation applies to two of the short sentences on p. 370.

Here, for the present, we must take leave of our tinker. Although his moral and social code, like his language, is certainly of the back-slang order, yet his society is not uninstructive, and when treated with courtesy and whisky he will be found an amiable and entertaining companion. Preserved in his life, as in his language, are many archaisms, which one would fain see placed on record, before Time with his harsh breathing aspirates them out of existence.

JOHN SAMPSON.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—Although similarity of sound does not always argue a common etymology, yet the name "Creenie" mentioned by Mr. Sampson as that of an Irish-tinker tribe, at once suggests a peculiar caste in the south-west of Scotland bearing the same name. The "Creenies" of Wigtownshire are thus referred to by a local writer: "The Laihh-enders or Rhinns people were not nearly so tall [as a different caste, of whom "few were under six feet in height"], and had dark hair, and dark brown eyes, or occasionally dark blue; their faces were narrow at the brow and chin, and very broad between the eyes; they had thin, prominent, hook-noses, wide mouths with large, broad, projecting front teeth, which the upper lip could with difficulty cover, and which overlapped the lower lip; their foreheads were small, flat, and very much receding, and had three strong wrinkles, while their chins receded worse than a negro's,

[1] Vide *Through Romany Songland*, p. 151.

and were very small, and nearly all the grown women had beards, both on the chin and upper lip. Tradition says they were the descendants of some savages they call the Kreenies, that came over from Ireland, but . . . emigration is making them scarce" (*Galloway Gossip*, Choppington, Northumberland, 1877, pp. 17, 18). Whether the Shelta-speaking "Creenies" of Ireland show any signs of this very low racial type, they and their caste are again associated with the Wigtownshire people when the writer just quoted says, in another place (p. 127) that the district in which the latter live, or lived, "is said to have been colonised by the Cruithné from Ireland." As it is pretty clear that Creenie" is simply a phonetic writing of the Gaelic Cruithné, this means an identification with "the ould Picts," who, Mr. Leland's tinker says, spoke Shelta; for "Cruithné" is the old Gaelic name for the Picts. Perhaps, also, we ought to see its alternative form "Cruithneach" in the term "Crink" applied by Gypsies to Irish tinkers (*In Gypsy Tents*, pp. 25, 26).]

III.—LOVE FORECASTS AND LOVE CHARMS AMONG THE TENT-GYPSIES OF TRANSYLVANIA.

(*Translated from the Article contributed to "Ethnographia," June* 1890.)

THE Gypsies, whose unrestrained love of wandering and singular manner of living amidst the nations of the Old World suggest numberless interesting problems, have not yet received due attention from modern science. It is true we are not without some fragmentary sketches; some ethnographers of our century have observed this nomadic race in various localities, and have sketched separate traits of the moral life of some of them; but all this is not nearly sufficient to present to us one continuous picture of the whole Gypsy people. A thorough study of the different districts inhabited by Gypsies is necessary for the obtaining of a tolerably perfect representation of the inner life of these people, particularly of their religious ideas and views of life and the influence of these upon the progenitors of the race, with regard to their moral and material world, their customs and their superstitions. We are only at the beginning of such a work. The manners of those Gypsies inhabiting our country, whether settled or still migratory, are not yet so amply recorded in our literature as to make every other observation appear

superfluous, or to prevent others from gleaning with even more success in this domain.

From this point of view, we believe it to be our duty to give our full attention to the national characteristics, manners, customs, and superstitions, and the still surviving traits of our Gypsies, and to preserve them from entire destruction. These traits of an already fading picture contain the ancient memorials of the Gypsies, with their intellectual life, and they are therefore worthy of the appreciation of our Society.[1] It is for this reason that I wish to introduce here the love charms and predictions of our Gypsies as a small contribution towards the study of our national races.

We find love charms and love prophecies among all peoples, savage and civilised—among the American Indians and the African negroes, the people of Asia and the cultured nations of Western Europe. This fact itself justifies the oft-expressed opinion of *savants*, that savages—or, let us say, those races living in a natural state—are entirely destitute not only of every religious, but even of every higher, human feeling, and that love, for example, is with them merely animal instinct, unable to raise itself to a plane worthy of humanity. Even in recent times. one could hear such assertions made with regard to our Gypsies, whose national love songs can compare with the lyric effusions of any modern civilised nation. Most of the songs speak of love, its joys and its griefs. As in all folk-lore, the subject is of course always the same, but what variety, what gradation of shade, are displayed in the conception and expression! The love song of the Gypsy is a kaleidoscope, in which the stones, themselves uniformly coloured, show with every movement surprisingly new shapes.

The longing itself, the pining for the beloved one, which turns to superstition in the hope of in some mysterious way obtaining satisfaction, shows that even among races of the lowest order this love is not limited to animal contact alone. It is my purpose to enumerate here a few of the superstitions of the tented Gypsies which relate to the loves of this nomadic people, whom I have had many opportunities of studying.

It is in the nature of mankind to seek for information as to its future destiny, and the more primitive its education the more will it employ every opportunity of lifting the veil from off the future. And it is natural that girls, whose main object in life is marriage, should turn, not only to prophecies, but to charms. The girls of the Transylvanian Gypsies know that these charms and prophecies can

[1] The Magyar Ethnological and Folk-Lore Society.

only be carried through on certain days or nights, such as New Year's Eve, the night before Easter, and St. George's Day.

On New Year's Eve the Gypsy girls throw boots or shoes on to a willow tree, but they are only allowed to throw nine times. If the shoe catches in the branches, the girl who threw it marries in the course of that year. On New Year's Eve, also, the girls go to a tree and shake it in turn, singing as they do so:—

Perde, perde prájtina,	Scattered, scattered the leaves,
Varekaj hin, kász kámav ?	Where is he whom I love ?
Basá, párno dzsiuklo,	Bark, white dog.
Piráno dzsál maj szigo !	There my lover comes running !

If the bark of a dog is heard during the singing, it denotes that the girl will be married before the year is out.

Instead of the above, the girl will pull out one of her hairs, to which she fastens a ring, and dangles it in a jug. As the ring sways to and fro, for each time that it touches the side of the jug she has to wait an additional year before she marries. On St. George's Night the girls take a white dog and blindfold it. Then, letting it loose, they quietly take up separate places. She to whom the dog runs first marries first. I must not omit to mention another relative custom. Early on Whitsunday morning the girls go out, and if they see clouds in the east they throw twigs in that direction, saying: "Fly, bird, and do not chase away my lover!" (*Predzsia csirikleja te ná tráda m'ře pirános.*) For they think that if on Whitsunday morning there are many clouds in the East, there will be few girls married in the course of the year. This peculiar—seemingly incomprehensible—custom of the Gypsies is rooted in an old belief, the germ of which we find in the Indian myth, according to which the spring morning spreading brightness and blessing descends from the azure bird of heaven, who, on the other hand, also represents night or winter.

The girls have to make special preparations so that these predictions should be fulfilled. On the days mentioned it is not permitted to them to wash themselves, or to kiss any one, or to go to church. At Easter, or on St. George's Eve, the girl must eat fish if she would see the future one in her dreams. On Easter morning the Gypsy girls boil water, in the bubbles of which they try to make out the name of their future husband. To ascertain whether her future husband is young or old, the girl must take nine seeds of the thorn apple (*pesoseszkro*), ploughed-up earth from nine different places, and water

taken from nine different places, and knead these into a cake, which she lays on a cross road on the morning of Easter or of St. George's Day. If it should happen that a woman is the first to step on the cake, then her husband will be a widower or an old man; but if it should be a man that first steps on it, then her husband will be young. She will be able to see clearly the form of her future husband if she goes on St. George's Night to a cross road, having her hair combed backwards, and there pricks the little finger of her left hand, saying, as she lets three drops of blood fall to the ground: "My blood give I to my beloved, whom I shall see I shall belong to him!" (*Mro rat dav piraneszke, kász dikhav avava adaleszke.*) They assert that the form of the future one then rises out of the blood, and thereafter slowly fades into air. The girl must then gather the blood-besprinkled dust or mud and throw it into a river, or else the *Nivasi* (water nymphs), would lick up the blood, and the girl would be drowned when she became a bride. It is said that the beautiful Rosa (*Rózsi*), the daughter of Peter Danku, the voivode of the Kukuya tribe, was drowned in the river Maros during the period of her betrothal, twenty years ago, because she neglected to gather the sprinkled blood.

If a girl not only wants to see the form of her future husband, but is also curious to know what luck awaits her in marriage, she goes to a cross road on any of the nights already mentioned, and, sitting down upon the ground, she places before her a fried fish and a glass of brandy, and awaits her future husband. His figure then appears, and stops in front of her, silent and motionless. Should he take the fish the marriage will be a happy one, but unhappy if he chooses the brandy; in the event of his taking neither, then he or his bride will die during the first year of marriage.

The interpretation of dreams, palmistry, divination by cards, and other similar prophetic ceremonies, are of course constantly practised, but it would lead us too far to enlarge upon all these. More interesting are the charms by means of which they try to gain the love of some one. First of all, we must mention those so-called love potions, in the preparation of which the Gypsy girls and women are so renowned. The simplest and least hurtful beverage which they administer, unknown to the recipient, consists of the following ingredients: On any of the before-named nights they go into the meadows and gather the *Orchis maculata* (called by them *vast bengeszkero*, or devil's hand), the yellow roots of which they dry and crush, then mix with the blood of their menstruation, and thereafter

put into the food or drink of the person whose love they wish to possess. More [?] disgusting is the potion which they prepare out of green frogs and bat's blood. On St. John's Day they catch a green frog and put it into a closed but perforated earthenware vessel, which they place in an ant-hill. The ants eat the frog, leaving only the skeleton. This skeleton is ground to powder, mixed with the blood of the bat and cantharides, and shaped into small cakes, which are put into the food of the person to be charmed.[1] Among the more innocuous of such philters is one in which the girl puts into the food or drink of her beloved the ashes of a burnt piece of her dress, which had been saturated with her perspiration, and had perhaps some hair adhering to it. Burying a badger's foot or the eye of a crow under one's sleeping-place is also believed to influence love.

It is, moreover, a Gypsy belief that the passion may be induced in another by the transference of blood, perspiration, or hair into the body of the person referred to; by the burning of whose hair, blood, or saliva one can also kill love. Similar to this is the charm used towards a faithless lover. The deceived maiden lights a candle at midnight, and pricks it several times with a needle, saying: "I pierce the candle, I pierce thy heart!" (*Pchágeráv momelyi pchágera tre vodyi.*) If the unfaithful lover marries another, the girl mixes the broken shell of a crab in his food or drink, or she hides one of her hairs in a bird's nest. This makes the marriage unhappy, and the man is ever pining for his forsaken sweetheart.

All these charms and superstitions are not only interesting in themselves. Superstition has to make up for many things to the Gypsies; it has to compensate them for all that culture offers to us as a means of making life pass quicker and more easily. Superstition and witchcraft constitute all the Gypsy's knowledge, all his past, and all that anticipation out of which the soul, eager to know the future, gains refreshing consolation. Whatever consolation science or faith give to us superstition gives to them; for not one of them, in their weary existence, can raise his head sufficiently out of the shadow of misery to consider abstract things, such as religion, and to find consolation therein. The thread of inheritance, of which love-charming forms one thin fibre, is carried down to the Gypsies of our day, and in following this guiding thread we undoubtedly come upon the traces of their ancient religious conceptions.

HEINRICH VON WLISLOCKI.

[1] Qualibet supradictarum noctium occiduntur duo canes nigri, mas et femina, quorum genitalia exstirpata ad condensationem coquuntur. Hujus materiæ particula consumpta quemvis invincibili amore facit exardescere in eum eamve, qui hoc medio prodigioso usus est.

IV.—NOTES ON THE GYPSIES OF SOUTH-EASTERN MORAVIA.

IN the month of August 1889 I paid a visit to S.E. Moravia in order to see the Gypsies of that neighbourhood, whom, according to information previously received, I supposed to be very numerous. In former years, indeed, one was constantly encountering bands of them wandering or encamping in the environs of Hungarian Hradisch, Hungarian Brod, Luhatschowitz, and other neighbouring towns: in the last-named village (a watering-place) some Gypsies were even employed as workmen during the summer season. But when I was there last year I met no more Gypsies, for all the vagrants of that country had been expelled by the authorities to the Hungarian frontier. The Hungarian authorities, for their part, did not allow them to enter Hungary, and thus they were compelled to wander along the frontier. They are said to encamp mainly around the Vlara Pass. Only a few Gypsies identified with certain communities have been left in their previous dwelling-places; thus there are some Gypsy families still in Kunowitz (belonging to the district of Hungarian Hradisch), Zehraditz (district of Wisowitz), Wltschnau and Prowodow (district of Hungarian Brod). The Gypsies having been so numerous in that country not long ago, people there are well informed of their manners and customs. What I learned from them is the following: It has been definitely stated by the authorities that the ancestors of the Gypsies of South-Eastern Moravia, consisting of only a few individuals, came from Hungary not very long ago. Their numbers increased rapidly, for their fecundity was surprising; so that in more than one family there were sixteen children. In the course of time they divided themselves into a number of families, the names of which are: *Herak*, *Ištván*, *Didi*, *Zelinka*, *Murko*, *Kraus*, *Matis*, *Hrčka*, *Holomek*, *Balažý*, and *Daniel* (this last name being borne by many Gypsies even in other parts of Moravia).

That they have come from Hungary is proved also by the way they even yet speak the vernacular language, for they employ many forms of words not usual among the Moravian, but only among the Hungarian Slovaks. In general there will hardly be found any other Gypsy tribe which speaks the vernacular of the country so badly as these Gypsies. They frequently corrupt Tchek words by transposing the syllables. For example, they say *chepet'* instead of

Tchek *pečet'* (seal).[1] They pronounce *kh, th, ph,* instead of the unaspirated Tchek *k, t, p,* and often use their deep guttural χ instead of Tchek *k*—e.g. *deχret,* Tchek *dekret* (decree); *reχtor,* Tchek *rektor* (schoolmaster). They are fond of putting the stress of the voice on the penultimate of polysyllabic words, the Tcheks themselves always accenting the first. Even when speaking Tchek they employ some words composed from Romany and Tchek elements: thus *pobaχtaný* (blessed)—Tchek *požehnaný, oblažený*—from the Gypsy root *baχt* (happiness), and so on.

Their most characteristic features are said to be timorousness and unadvisedness.[2] At night no Gypsy will leave his camp alone; and when accompanied by another they both carry long sticks like spears and encourage one another, but even when thus armed they are scared back by the least noise in the wood. They are specially afraid of gunpowder, the effect of which fills their minds with superstitious terror.[3]

When encamping they pitch a humble tent, the top of which is open, and at night they lie in the warm ashes as closely as possible to one another. As a rule, but not always, they post a man as a guard, who is relieved by another at midnight. If somebody should throw a frog or a toad into their encampment they at once depart, and never choose the same place again, for what reason I cannot discover, but the fact itself, often experienced, is unquestionable. In the choice of their food they are by no means particular. They dig up dead cattle or dogs, even after they have lain some days or a week in the earth, and eat their meat—like the Gypsies of other countries. They express the natural death of an animal by the phrase: *Mro Devel les márd'as* (God has killed it).

I learned that they have a particular method of ascertaining whether the carrion is still eatable or not. An old Gypsy stated that they first rinse it with water. Into that water they dip a white onion: if this becomes black the carrion is rinsed again; if after the third immersion the onion is still tinged, then the meat is not eaten, otherwise it can be eaten without injurious consequences. Nobody could assert that they prefer the hedgehog as food, as Gypsies do in

[1] Cf. also Sl. G. *zubuňis* (waistcoat); but Bhm. G. *buzuňis* (Ješina, *Romani Čib*, ii. p. 87), from the Magyar *zubony*.

[2] Cf. Grellmann, *Hist. Versuch. über die Zigeuner*, pp. 155, 168.

[3] It is said that once when a rogue threw a burning "Pulverfrosch" (a sort of firework) at midnight into their unguarded camp, the Gypsies rushed out from their tent and jumped around the crackling monster, aiming at it with their sticks and howling aloud. When it had gone out, they forthwith struck their tent in order to pitch it in another place, which they supposed to be less perilous.

other countries. Their children do not appear to go to school at all,[1] except perhaps those of settled Gypsies, so they in general have no knowledge of writing and reading, and therefore regard a written scrip (*psané*) with superstitious respect. They get married by the parson, but not always before they have performed their marriage "under a willow tree." If there is a death in their camp they remain there during the night, keep their fire burning continuously, and all are awake and lamenting the dead. No Gypsy will enter a house in which to his knowledge a Gypsy has once died—"*lebo tam umirajou*" (for there one dies). For the souls of their dead friends, unless these were children, they sometimes have masses said, that the departed, "even supposing he had stolen something," may enter nevertheless into Paradise; but as a rule they believe the dead man to be safe enough if a priest has blessed his corpse. The physician or the priest they pay for their help by repairing iron wares or offering chains; they seldom part with the large silver buttons (*bombíky*) which they buy when they have saved some money.

The people of south-eastern Moravia, no doubt, will never regret the removal of the Gypsies, who committed so many thefts and disturbed the country people by their tricks, but the traveller regrets to miss the romantic figures whose appearance formerly gave a particular interest to the high-roads and the forests of that country.

Postscript.—After I had written this article I received new and reliable information to the effect that there are (were?) more than 200 Gypsies in the district of Hungarian Brod. Only six men are married regularly, the others married "in their own way." The ancestors of these Gypsies came from the villages of Rothenstein, Driethoma, and Zablati in Northern Hungary. Thus the Gypsy Gabriel Herak had been summoned as a player to Luhatschowitz by the Count Johann Szerényi in the beginning of this century. He brought his wife with him, but afterwards repudiated her because they had no children. He married another wife (Marina Ištván), and became the father of sixteen children, four of whom are still alive, and two sisters of Marina (Murko and Didi) having come from Hungary, to these four Gypsies the origin of the whole tribe is ascribed.

RUDOLF VON SOWA.

[1] It is said that on one occasion it was decided that the young son of a certain itinerant Gypsy ought to be made to attend the school. The father agreed to this, but said to the schoolmaster: "Very well, but be quick and teach him, as we have to be off on our travels to-morrow."

V.—SCOTTISH GYPSIES UNDER THE STEWARTS.

(*Continued.*)

THE earliest period at which Gypsies are definitely stated to have inhabited Scotland is the latter half of the fifteenth century. But even here the evidence is traditional rather than historical. That is to say, if there is any contemporaneous document proving the statements to be presently quoted, that document has not yet been brought forward. However, in spite of the want of positive confirmation, these traditional accounts have too much value to be overlooked.

Two dates in particular are singled out—the period 1452-60, and the year 1470. The event placed in the first of these periods has already been noticed by Simson,[1] Crofton,[2] and others. The scene of its occurrence was the province of Galloway, in the south-west of Scotland, and one of the principal figures was the young heir of the then important family of Maclellan of Bombie, whose ancestral estate lay near the town of Kirkcudbright, in that province. It is in the history of this family, afterwards ennobled with the title of "Lord Kirkcudbright," that one learns of this tradition; and one account is that given by Crawfurd, a genealogist of the beginning of last century.

Crawfurd states[3] that, after having been forfeited in the middle of the fifteenth century—

> "The Barony of *Bombie* was again recovered by the *Maclellans*, as the Tradition goes, after this Manner. In the same Reign [that of James II. of Scotland], says an Author of no small Credit (Sir George Mackenzie in his Baronage MS.), it happned that a Company of *Saracens* or *Gipsies* from *Ireland* infested the Country of *Galloway*; whereupon the King emitted a Proclamation, bearing, *That whoever should disperse them, and bring in their Captain dead or alive, should have the Barony of* Bombie *for his Reward*. So it chanced that a brave young Gentleman, the Laird of *Bombie's* Son, fortun'd to kill the Person for which the Reward was promised, and he brought his Head on the point of his Sword to the King, and thereupon he was immediately seized [vested] in the Barony of *Bombie*; and to perpetuate the Memory of that brave and remarkable Action, he took for his Crest a *More's* Head on the point of a Sword, and THINK ON for his Motto."

Although Crawfurd is not the first in chronological order who mentions this tradition, he is here quoted first because he unhesitatingly applies the term "Gypsy" to the "Moors" or "Saracens" of his story. What were his grounds for believing that the three terms

[1] *History*, p. 99. [2] *Tudors*, p. 3.
[3] *The Peerage of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1716, p. 238.

were all equally applicable does not appear. It will be seen that the very writer whom he quotes does not speak of those people as "Gypsies."

The writer referred to—Sir George Mackenzie, a famous Scottish lawyer of the seventeenth century—in the course of a treatise upon *Crests*, observes that—

"Sometimes it [the crest] represents some valiant Act done by the Bearer, thus *M'clelland* of *Bombie* did, and now the Lord *Kirkcudbright* [his ennobled descendant] does, bear a naked Arm, supporting on the point of a sword a *Mores* head; because *Bombie* [the ancestral estate] being forfeited, his Son kill'd a *More*, who came in with some Sarazens to infest *Galloway*; to the Killer of whom the King had promised the Forfeiture of *Bombie*; and thereupon he was restored to his Fathers land, as his Evidents yet testifie."[1]

Here, it will be seen, the term "Gypsy" is not employed; and this is noteworthy, as the passage just quoted was written thirty-six years earlier than Crawfurd's version. Mackenzie here speaks of the leader of the depredators as "a Moor who came in with some Saracens to infest Galloway." "Moor" (Lat. *maurus*) has within recent times become somewhat restricted in its meaning, but when Sir George Mackenzie wrote it signified any person of dark complexion. The English settlers in New England, for example, spoke of the American Indians as "Moors."[2] "Saracen" also appears to have had a tolerably wide application at one time, and although sometimes applied to Gypsies (notably in France), it can hardly be held to denote, of itself, anything more definite than "foreigner," or perhaps specially an *Eastern* foreigner. However, another version of Sir George Mackenzie's shows that in this instance he regarded the whole of those "Saracens" as dark-skinned men, or "Moors." This version appears to be the "Baronage MS." referred to by Crawfurd; although, curiously enough, it does not employ the term "Gypsy" introduced by that writer. As it differs slightly from those already quoted, this account may also be given. After describing Lord Kirkcudbright's armorial bearings, Sir George Mackenzie proceeds:—

"His predicessor was M'Lellan of Bomby. Ther is a tradition that one of his predicessors being forfaulted [forfeited], his air [heir] having killed a moar who hade brought in a ship full of mores to Galloway, and against whom the King hade emitted ane proclamation that who ever should bring in the mores head should have the lands of Bomby then in the King's hand by forfaltur, gott his fathers

[1] *The Science of Herauldry*, by Sir George Mackenzie of Rose-haugh, Knight: Edinburgh, 1680, p. 90.

[2] *News from New England;* London, 1676: reprinted at Boston and Albany, U.S. 1850 and 1865.

lands again, and took for his crest the mores head upon a dager bleeding, and for his motto these words, Think On, because he desyred the King to think on his promise." [1]

From these accounts, then, it appears that a tradition was prevalent in Galloway two centuries ago, according to which that district had been ravaged, two centuries earlier, by a band of Moors or Saracens, styled "Gypsies" by a writer of the year 1716. And of such importance were these people that a royal proclamation was issued, offering a manorial estate to whoever should slay the "Saracen" leader. As it happened, the fortunate victor was the young heir of the family which had owned this estate before its forfeiture; and he thereupon was "restored to his fathers' land, as his evidents yet testifie." It is possible that these "evidents" may still be in existence at the present day, in which case they would surely throw some light upon the event.[2] But one thing apparent is, that if the "Moors" of the story were really "Gypsies," then Gypsies occupied a very much more important position four centuries ago than at any subsequent date. Neither in this century nor in the last would a landed estate have been held out as a reward for the capture of a Gypsy chief in any country of Europe!

But it is not by any means made clear that the swarthy depredators of 1452-60 were Gypsies. And Simson does well to point out that the Algerian corsairs were accustomed to make descents upon the British coasts even so recently as the seventeenth century.[3] It is true that the question of the ethnological ingredients of these "corsairs" would here have to be considered; and a contributor to our present number asserts[4] that a race of North African "Zingari" figured prominently among the conquerors of Barbary and Spain. Gypsy corsairs in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean we have already heard of; but to regard the Algerine pirates as, in any degree, "Gypsies" is an idea that will less readily find favour. Yet it is remarkable that while the British Isles were for centuries subject to the depredations of swarthy pirates from Algiers, who received white renegades into their ranks, and who presumably left some

[1] "Collections of the Most Remarkable Accounts that relate to the Families of Scotland: by Sir George Mackenzie, His Majesty's Advocate."—Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, MSS. 34/3/19.

[2] The title of Maclellan, Lord Kirkcudbright, has been dormant since the death of the ninth lord in 1832; but the family charters may have been preserved.

[3] This well-known fact, mentioned by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole in his *Barbary Corsairs*, has received some additional comments in the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, vol. i., No. 2, 1890, pp. 167-8. It appears that the Algerines of 1631-6 were frequently spoken of as "Turks."

[4] Page 200.

traces of their blood in those places where they landed, yet no trace whatever of an Arabic form of speech is found in these islands (outside of the domain of science). Whereas the Gypsies, who figure visibly as swarthy marauders, "land-pirates" at the least, at the very same period, and who also admitted renegades into their ranks, have unquestionably left their mark both in the speech and the physique of certain British castes.

Whatever the grounds for Crawfurd's statement that the Galloway "Moors" or "Saracens" of 1452-60 were "Gypsies," he wrote at a time (1716) when the Gypsies of Galloway were still a formidable body, acting under a certain famous leader whose family are said to have been "tinklers in the south of Scotland time out of mind." If Crawfurd merely *assumed* that the Galloway Gypsies of 1716 were the representatives of those "Moors" who had similarly terrorised that province in the fifteenth century, the assumption was natural enough. But the whole history of that memorable incident must be more closely inquired into before any decisive conclusion can be drawn. Certainly the later versions given by tradition do not do much towards dispelling the obscurity.[1]

Although it is impossible to do justice to the subject within our present limits, it is necessary to add, in support of the foregoing remarks, that very much may be said on behalf of the theory that the terms *Moor*, *Morisco*, and *Morris*, or *Moorish*, have probably been applied, in a good number of cases, to Gypsies. Something has already been said in our *Journal* (vol. i. pp. 79, 80, and 83) on the subject of Gypsies regarded as Morris-dancers. More than one reference could be added which seems to indicate that the Morris-dance was kept up in England till the present century, notably by

[1] Kirkcudbright tradition tells of a certain "Blackimore," "Black Morrow," or "Black Murray," who inhabited a wood near that town, still known as the "Black Morrow Wood." "Antiquarians say the sum of 50*l*. was offered by the king for his head, dead or alive; that one of the M'Lellans of Kirkcudbright took to the wood single-handed, with a dirk, found the outlaw sleeping, and drove it through his head. With the cash he bought the estate of Barmagauchen, in Borgue; the foundation of the 'head on the dagger' in the M'Lellan's coat of arms." So says a local writer of the year 1824 (Mactaggart, in his *Gallovidian Encyclopædia*, reprinted London and Glasgow 1876, *s.v.* "Black Morrow"). Another writer states: "Tradition affirms that the Outlaw above alluded to was a foreigner—a runaway from some vessel which had put in at the Manxman's Lake; that he used to cross the Dee in a small boat, to the opposite coast of Borgue, where he committed many depredations." And so on with the story of his death at the hands of young Maclellan.—*Historical and Traditional Tales, etc.*, Kirkcudbright, 1843, p. 112. One phase of the story, as given in both of these accounts, and which is here omitted as irrelevant, is certainly not peculiar to that district, but is met with in at least one other part of Scotland. But it is clear that the "Blackamoor" of both versions, stated in each to have been killed by young Maclellan, is the same as the chief of the "Moors" or "Saracens" whom Sir George Mackenzie speaks of as remembered in tradition as far back as 1680.

the *Gypsies*. And this association seems to have been distinctly recognised in Scotland. Thus, an annotator of the Poems of James I. of Scotland, writing in 1783,[1] explains a reference to the "Moreiss danss" in these words:—"Morrice or Moorish dances, rather of slow, solemn movement, performed usually by *gipsies* after the Moorish manner." Whether or not the dance originated with them, therefore, the Morrice-dancers of Scotland appear to have been "usually" Gypsies. Consequently, when, as pointed out by Mr. Crofton,[2] a sum of forty shillings was paid to "the Egyptians that danced before the King [of Scotland] in Holyrood house," in the year 1530, it may with tolerable certainty be assumed that the Morris-dance was at least included in the performance. And when a sum of seven pounds (Scotch money) was paid "to the Egyptians by the King's command,"[3] on 22d April 1505, it was not unlikely intended as remuneration for similar services. The two last references show, at least, that in the early part of the sixteenth century "Egyptians" were paid dancers; or, if the entry of 1505 does not prove this, that of 1530 does. Now, a Scottish poet of that very period (William Dunbar), in describing the evening amusements of the nobility and gentry then resident in Edinburgh, states that—

"Some sings, some dances, some tell stories;
Some late at even brings in the Moreis."

This last term, as we have seen, denotes the Morris-dancers; and if these were "usually" Gypsies, as the writer of 1783 states, then the "Moreis" of Dunbar could hardly fail to be some of those "Egyptians" whose presence in Edinburgh is recorded in 1505 and 1530.[4] Here, then, as in the Galloway story, we have the term "Egyptian" or "Gypsy" identified with "Morrow" or "Moor."

Without attempting to pursue this analogy further, let us turn to the second traditionary notice of Gypsies in Scotland during the

[1] *Poetical Remains of James the First, King of Scotland.* Edinburgh: Printed for J. & E. Balfour, 1783, page 170 *n.*

[2] *Gyp. L. Soc. Jour.* i. 9.

[3] Quoted by Mr. Crofton, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[4] Nor does it seem imperative that we should limit ourselves to the terms "Moor" and "Egyptian" in looking for probable Gypsies at this period. We have seen that the "Egyptians" were paid for dancing before the Scottish King in 1530, and that the King also remunerated the same kind of people in 1505. But when, in 1491, a sum of thirty "unicorns" was paid "to the *Spaniards* that danced before the King on the causeway of Edinburgh before the Treasurer's lodging" (*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, A.D. 1473-1498. Edinburgh, 1877), may we not see in these people a company of Spanish *Gypsies*? Dr. Thomas Dickson remarks in this connection, in his valuable Preface to these "Accounts" (p. cclx, note): "Many of the performers of this class appear to have been Spaniards"; and he cites two similar payments out of the Privy Purse of England—one "to a mayde that came out of Spayne and daunsed before the Quene," and another "to a Spaynyard that

fifteenth century. Like the Galloway story, this also is associated with the history of a noble family. Although the event is placed in the year 1470, the earliest record of it that has come under my notice is of so recent a date as 1835, where it forms the groundwork of a romantic tale.[1] But as the chronicler was well versed in the traditional lore of southern Scotland, the date named by him (1470) may actually be the true one. This is the tradition, as given in a more serious work:[2]—

"Hermiston, or Herdmanston, an estate in the parish of Salton, in East-Lothian. There are still some remains here of an ancient castle or fortalice of the Sinclairs, of which the following tradition is related:—In the year 1470, Marion and Margaret Sinclair, co-heiresses of Polwarth, being in the full possession of their estates of Polwarth and Kimmergham, were decoyed by their uncle Sinclair to his castle of Herdmanston, in East-Lothian, and there they were cruelly detained prisoners. The feudal system then reigned in all its horrors, and every baron had the power of life and death within his territory. The two young heiresses were in great perplexity and terror. Marion, the eldest, conveyed a letter by the hands of Johnny Faa, captain of a gang of gipsies, to George Home, the young Baron of Wedderburn, her lover, acquainting him of her own and her sister's perilous situation; upon the receipt of which the Baron and his brother Patrick set out with a hundred chosen men to relieve the two fair captives, which they achieved not without the loss of lives on both sides, as Sinclair made a stout resistance with all the force he could collect."

According to this tradition, therefore, the Gypsies—and in particular that division styled "Faas" or "Faws"—were established in the south-east of Scotland in the year 1470. On what historical basis the story rests remains to be determined.

"The first undoubted record referring to Gypsies in Great Britain is: '1505, Apr. 22. Item to the Egyptianis be the Kingis command, vij lib.'" This statement of Mr. Crofton's[3] remains uncontroverted by anything that has been said in the course of these remarks;

tumbled"—in evidence of this. We know that there were Gypsies in Spain as early as 1447, and that when she tried to get rid of these people at a later date the edict against them referred to at least a section of them as mountebanks or "fools." Whether those "Spaniards" of 1491 came voluntarily to Scotland or not, to what caste of the Spanish people were they so likely to belong as to that of the "Gypsies"? That Spanish Gypsies should sometimes be called "Spaniards" in other countries is not at all unlikely. There are a score of instances in which Gypsies received the name of the country from which they came. For one appropriate illustration I am indebted to Mr. Groome. A female mountebank who came to England about the year 1689 is referred to by one writer of the time as a "Dutch" and by another as a "High German" woman. "Oh, what a charming sight it was," says one of these writers, "to see Madam what d'ye call her, the High German woman, swim it along the stage between her two *gipsy* daughters" (*Notes and Queries*, 2d S., viii., Aug. 27, 1859). Therefore, just as this nominally "German" woman was obviously a Gypsy, so with equal probability were those professional dancers from Spain also Gypsies.

[1] "Polwarth on the Green," in John Mackay Wilson's *Tales of the Borders*.

[2] *Gazetteer of Scotland*, Edinburgh, Fullarton and Co., 1847, vol. i. pp. 773, 774.

[3] *Gyp. L. Soc. Jour.* i. 7. The quotation is from the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*.

for however great may be the probability that the references already made denote the presence of Gypsies in Scotland during the fifteenth century, or earlier, it cannot be said that these references settle the matter beyond all doubt.

"A few months later, in July 1505," continues the same writer, "we find the Scottish king, James IV., writing to the King of Denmark to commend Anthony Gagino, a lord of Little Egypt, who, with his retinue, had a few months previously reached Scotland during a pilgrimage through the Christian world, undertaken at the command of the Apostolic See." This letter is preserved in the Royal Archives of Denmark, having still "the remains of the seal impressed in red wax, and the inscription to King John." The following is an exact copy:—

"Illustrissimo et Potentissimo Principi Johanni dei gracia dacie Swecie Noruigie Slauorum et gothorum Regi duci slesuiacie holstacie stirmarie et ditmarie Comiti in oldenborg et delmenhost, Auunculo et Confederato nostro Charissimo, Jacobus eadem gracia Rex Scotorum Salutem amorem et successus optatos. Anthonius gagino ex parua egipto Comes et cetera comitatus eius gens afflicta et miseranda, dum Cristianum orbem apostolico (vt aiunt) iussu suorum more peregrinantur, Ad limites nostri regni forte aduenerunt, Atque in miseriarum et sortis sue Refugium nos pro humanitate orarunt, vt nostros fines sibi Impune adire, Res et quam habent societatem liberius circumagere, et donec incontinente [*sic*] abnauigent, quiecius consistere liceat. Postulata facile id hominum genus impetrat, quod miseris et iactatis viris succurrere Regium semper duximus. Ita aliquot iam menses bene et probe hic versati, ad te, Rex et Auunculo chare, in daciam festinant. Sed occeanum transmissuri nostras litteras exorant, quibus Celsitudinem tuam horum cerciorem. Reddamus, simul et gentis Calamitatem tue munificencie Commendemus, que eo tibi quam nobis notior creditur, quo egiptus tuo Regno vicinior et maior horum frequencia tuo diuersatur imperio. Rex et Auuncule confederate felix vale. Ex Regia nostra Apud Linlithq^w die iulij tercio Anno salutis quinto supra millesimum et quingentesimum. James Rex."[1]

As the surname of this "Count of Little Egypt" appears differently in the draft of this letter, which may be seen among the Royal MSS. at the British Museum, and as there are a few other slight differences between the draft and the letter itself, it may be as well to quote the former also. It is as follows:—

MS. Reg. 13 B. II.

Danica 25. In grām Egyptiorꝭ Vagotꝭ.

Illustrissimo &c. Anthonius gawino ex parua egipto comes, et cetera eius comitatus gens afflicta et miseranda: dū Xpianū orbem peregrinationis studio aplico sedis (vt refert) Jussu : suorū more peregrinans: fines nr̄i Regni dudum aduenerat. atqȝ in sortis sue et miseriarū hu9 populi refugiū Nos pro humanitate Implorauerat: vt nr̄os Limites sibi Impune adire: Res cunctas : et quā habet societatem libere

[1] I have to thank Mr. A. D. Jörgensen, the Royal Danish Archivist, Copenhagen, for his courteous gift of the printed section of the Archives containing the above copy letter.

circūagere liceret. Impetrat facile: que postulat miserorū hominū dura fortuna. Ita aliquot mēses bene et catholice (sic accepi⁹) hic versatus: ad te Rex et Auūcule In Daciā transitum parat. Sed occeanum transmissurus ñras Łras exorauit, quibus Celsitudinē tuā horū cerciorē Redderem⁹, simul et calamitatem eius gentis Regie tue munificencie cōmendarem⁹. Ceterū errabunde egipti fata moresqȝ et genus, eo tibi qᵘ nobis credim⁹ notiora: quo egiptus tuo Regno vicinior: et maior ħmoi hominū frequencia tuo Diuersatur Imperio. Illustrissime, &c.

Here, then, we have Gypsies distinctly visible in Scotland in the year 1505. Whether the band of "Anthonius Gagino" was composed of those "Egyptians" to whom the King had paid seven pounds in the previous April, is not certain. But the favour shown to Gypsies by James IV. contrasts remarkably with the attitude of his grandfather, James II., towards the "Moors" of Galloway story. In this, as in all that relates to the Gypsies of that period, there is much room for conjecture.

One detail of the letter which is difficult to explain satisfactorily is the reference to "Egypt" as nearer Denmark than Scotland. This has been assumed to denote mere geographical ignorance; and one writer (quoted by Dyrlund, p. 290) suggests that "Egyptians" were the same as "Lapp nomads," in the estimation of "the simple Scotch king." On the other hand, it is to be remembered that James was not only an accomplished man of the world, but that he was also the son of a Danish princess, and in both aspects likely to know almost as much upon this point as the King of Denmark. Moreover, it is pretty evident that he was not the first of his race who had come in contact with Gypsies. We cannot say positively that any of the "Moors," or "sorners," against whom his grandfather legislated so determinedly were really Gypsies. But it is to be noted that that monarch issued his edict against "overliers and masterful beggars" in 1449, the year of his marriage with Mary of Guelderland. By this marriage (which is stated by a biographer to have much strengthened his character, and to have made him still more determined to bring his kingdom to order, as such edicts would tend to do), James II. must have been made well aware of the existence of Gypsies, had he known nothing of them previously. For the "Heidens" of Little Egypt were then well known in Guelderland.[1] According to some writers, the "Heidens" then in Guelderland were of two kinds, the "pagans" of Prussia and Livonia, and the Gypsies proper. The reasons for this distinction do not seem established. But it seems clear that the Baltic provinces

[1] See Dirks' *Heidens of Egyptiërs*, pp. 39-42.

had Gypsy populations at an early period;[1] certainly at the date of James the Fourth's letter. And it is reasonable to assume that this was the country he had in view. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that this explanation will account for the application of the term "Egypt" to the country denoted.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

(*To be continued.*)

VI.—NOTES ON THE GYPSIES OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA.

THE literature of Poland contains the following works and notices relating to Gypsies:—

1. CZACKI T. *O litewskich i polskich prawach.* Warszawa, 1800-1801. (The Laws of Poland and Lithuania. Warsaw, 1800-1801). Vol. I., pp. 237-239.
2. DANILOWICZ, J. *O cyganach, wiadomość historyczna. Wilno,* 1824. (Historical Notices concerning the Gypsies, with a Polish-Gypsy Dictionary. Vilna, 1824.)
3. MAGAZYN POWSZECHNY, z 1, 1838. (The General Magazine, a weekly journal of 1838.) Pp. 267-270.[2]
4. NARBUTT, M. T. *Rys historyozny ludu Cygánskiego. Wilno,* 1830. (Historical Sketch of the Gypsy People. Vilna, 1830.)
5. NARUSZEWICZ, A. *Historja narodu polskiego. Warszawa,* 1780-86. (History of the Polish People. Warsaw, 1780-86.) Vol. IV., Book I., p. 85.
6. OSTROWSKI, T. *Prawo cywilne narodu polskiego. Warszawa,* 1787. (The Civic Law of the Polish People. Warsaw, 1787.) Vol. I., p. 57.
7. PRILUSII, JACOBI. *Leges seu statuta ac privilegia Reg. Polon. omnia, etc. Cracoviæ,* 1553. Libr. I., cap. XIX., fol. 351.
8. SZCZERBICZ, PAULUS. *Promptuarium statutorum omnium et constitutionem Regn. Polon. Brunsbergiæ,* 1604. Vol. I., fol. 56.
9. VOLUMINA LEGUM, etc. etc., II., f. 608, 972, 1618. III. f. 468.

[1] See *Gyp. L. Soc. Jour.*, ii. 137, note.

[2] An unfinished article, by an anonymous writer, containing the *résumé* of M. Cogalniczano's "Essay on the History, the Manners, and the Language of the Gypsies."

10. KORZENIOWSKI, J. *Cyganie, dramat.* (The Gypsies, a drama.)
11. KRASZEWSKI, I. J. *Chata za wsia. Powieść.* (The Hut near the Village. A novel.)[1]
12. MELLER ET GALASIEWICZ. *Chata za wsia dramat ludowy wedlug powieści I. J. Kraszewskiego.* (The Hut near the Village. A popular drama after I. J. Kraszewski's novel.)
13. MELLER ET GALASIEWICZ. *Dziewcze z chaty za wsia. Dramat ludowy, Cz. 2. podlug powieści I. J. Kraszewskiego.* (The Girl of the Hut near the Village. A popular drama from I. J. Kraszewski's novel; the second part.)
14. WLADYSLAW CIOLEK (GUTOWSKI). *Wnuk Tumrego, dramat ludowy, Cz. 3., oryginalnie napisany.* (Tumri's grandson. A popular drama; third part. Original composition.)
15. GLINSKI, K. *Murlaj, szkic*: (Mūrlaï, a sketch): in the weekly journal *Klosy*, Warsaw, 1890, No. 1280.
16. LOŚ WINC. HR. *U cyganów, opowiadanie malarza.* (Among the Gypsies: a Painter's Story). In the weekly journal *Biesiada literacka*, Warsaw, 1890, No. 6.

Polish Proverbs concerning the Gypsies:—

1. He drags on the world like a Gypsy.
2. Everybody calls thee lean and Gypsy-like; they didn't know you, or they would have called you fat and black Gypsy.
3. A Gypsy gets the testimony of another Gypsy (or, of his like).
4. A Gypsy gets his children as witnesses.
5. "Gypsy, hast thou witnesses!"
   "Yes! my wife and children!!"[2]
6. It suits him as much as ploughing suits a Gypsy.
7. *Cyganić*; to cheat as a Gypsy does.[3]
8. Set a Gypsy to cheat a Gypsy.
9. A Gypsy's good luck.[4]
10. He who fraternises with a Gypsy
    Becomes himself a Gypsy.[5]
11. *Cygánskie plemie*; a Gypsy family, *i.e.* a company of rogues.
12. *Cygánska dusza*; one who cheats body and soul.
13. *Cygánski vod*; the judgment of the Gypsies.

[1] Referred to by M. Davainis-Silvestraitis, in vol. i. of our Journal, p. 258.—[ED.]
[2] The above is a rhyming couplet in Polish.—[ED.]
[3] Compare the kindred Spanish *gitanear*.—[ED.]
[4] In the sense of "The devil's own luck," in English.—[ED.]
[5] The above is a rhyming couplet in Polish.—[ED.]

Laws relating to Gypsies in Poland and Lithuania down to the year 1794.

1. The Gypsies to be hunted from the country. (A. 1557, Volumina Legum II., fol. 608.)
2. Expulsion *de facto*. And should any one give them concealment, he shall be punished as an accomplice. (A. 1578, Vol. Leg. II., fol. 972.)
3. In the palatinate of Podlachie this "compliciter" does not hold, but the *starosts* must drive out the Gypsies. (A. 1607, Vol. Leg. II., fol. 1618.)
4. Of the vagabond Wallachians and Serbs, nobody, *sub pœnæ*, is entitled to keep or conceal Gypsies. (A. 1624, Vol. Leg. III., fol. 468.)
5. In the "Chronicle of Miechov by Nakielski," we find an edict of King Boleslas the Chaste, of 2d February 1256, in which the king says: *Et advenæ qui vulgariter Szalassi vocantur a servitute exictionas liberantur.* In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the term "Szalassi" denoted Gypsies.[1]

From the sixteenth till eighteenth centuries the Chancellor Royal nominated a *Regent of the Gypsies* from among the Polish gentry. These regents were the supreme judges for the Gypsies of the district; they gave laws to the Gypsies; they had the right of punishing the Gypsies, and of levying taxes on them. King Casimir Jagellon took the Gypsies under his protection, and was desirous of settling them in colonies. In the eighteenth century, the Gypsies lived at Rajgrod, Bar, Mir, Murachwa, Barglov and Pinsk. In the eighteenth century the Princes Radziwill took the Gypsies under their protection, and on 22d July 1778 Prince Stanislas Radziwill nominated a Lithuanian gentleman, John Gryf-Marcinkowski, as "Regent of the Gypsies." This nomination was confirmed the same year by King Stanislas August Poniatowski for Poland and Lithuania, with the right of exacting taxes from each individual Gypsy. Marcinkowski was a severe and despotic regent. He dressed as a Polish gentleman: a *zupon* (long coat), a *kontusz* (a cloak with long open sleeves, which were thrown

[1] About the year 1370, a Wallachian prince (Vladislav) assigned "forty *Salachi* of *Atsigani*" to the monastery of Saint Antony of Voditza. (See M. Bataillard's "Immigration," vol. i. of our *Journal*, pp. 187-8.) M. Bataillard further states (vol. ii. p. 52, *note*): "This word (which was hardly ever applied but to Gypsy groups) is generally translated by *family, household*; but its precise etymology and its signification are rather obscure, and I think that neither these words, nor that of *tent*, translate it exactly. I am told that in modern times the *salasch* comprises the waggon, the tent, and the Gypsy household."

over the back), a *kolpak* on his head, and in his hand he always carried a *buzdygan* (a species of marshal's baton with a large knob at the end; a mace, *buzogány*), and at his girdle a *bizun* (horsewhip). The last of the Gypsy Regents in Poland and Lithuania was a certain Gryf-Zuamirowski, a Lithuanian gentleman, who proved very severe.

VLADISLAV KORNEL DE ZIELIŃSKI.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—It is interesting to remark that the enactments against the Polish Gypsies of the sixteenth century are "contra *Philistinos*, Cyganos apud nos vocitatos" (Prilusii, Jacobi, *ut supra*). We may add that M. de Zieliński, whilst referring to the passing references in Czacki's *Laws of Poland*, has omitted to state that Czacki was also the author of a special memoir on the Gypsies.]

VII.—A VOCABULARY OF THE SLOVAK-GYPSY DIALECT.

BY R. VON SOWA.

(*Continued.*)

N.

Na, M., K., S., adv. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), not. "No" is expressed by joining *na* with the predicate or other important word, thus: *Rovl'áreha tu pre late?—Na rovava*—Will you weep for her?—No! *Avl'al tu vash odova?—Vash odova na*—Did you come for *that*?—No!

Na, S., prep. (Slov. *na*), on; only in *nacho* (Slov. *načo*), wherefore? For what reason? K., S. *Na veki*, for ever, S.

Nabito, S., adj. (Slov. *nabitý*), charged.

Nachin, *a.*, S., adv. (Slov. *način*), necessarily.

Nachirla. See *Chirla.*

Naxist'inau, S., vb. tr. (Slov. *nachystat'*), to get ready, to prepare.

Nazívinav, M. W., vb. tr. (Slov. *nazývat'*), to call, to name.

Nai, S., *nay*, M., K., pref. (Slavon. *naj*, Mikl., M. W. I. 26, Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), forming superlatives. For example: *nai-feder*, best; *nai-phúreder*, oldest.

Nak, S., s. f. (Gr., Bhm. = Sl.; Hng. *nakh*), nose.

Nakavav, M. W., vb. tr. (Gr. *nakavava*; Hng. = Sl., Bhm. wanting), to bring over, to devour.

Nane. See *som.*

Národos, S., s. m. (Slov. *národ*, people, nation; Bhm. = Sl. friend), pl. parents, kinsmen.

Nasik. See *Sig.*

Nasvalo, M., M. W., adj. (Gr. = Sl., Hng., Bhm. *nasválo*), ill, sick.

Náshau, S., vb. itr. (Gr. *nashava*, to go away; Hng., Bhm. *nashau*, to run), to move quickly. *Tumen auka oda hintovaha náshna har chak vód'i kamna*—You will go in that carriage in such a way that you will like it yourselves.

Nashavau, s., *nashavav*, M. W.; *nasháva*v, K., vb. tr. (Gr. *nashavava*, to lose; Hng. wanting; Bhm. *nashavav*, to lose, to kill. 1. To kill: *Auka pheneha, hoi som imar mulano al'ebo som nashado*—So thou wilt say that I am already dead (by violence) or killed. 2. To lose, K.

Nashchi. See *Sht'i.*

Nashl'ovau, M. W., S., vb. tr. (Gr. wanting, there being used *nashavd'ovava*, from the caus.; Hng. wanting; Bhm. *nashl'óvav*, Ješ. 67), to be lost.

Nayrinav, a., M. W. (Slov. *na* + *irinav*, Mikl., M. W. XII. 76), to return, to go back.

Névo, S., adj., s. m. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. *nevo*). 1. New; *So hi odoi něvo?*—What news are there? 2. Kreuzer (Sl. *nový* sc. *krajcar*, Germ. *Neukreuzer*), *Nane man aňi yekh névo*—I have not even one kreuzer.

Nisht, M. W., K., S., *ńisht*; *nich*, M. W., pron., ind. obl. not noted (Serb. *ništa*, *ništo*, Mikl. M. W. I. 27; Hng. *nishta*, *nisht*; Bhm. *nisht*. The Bhm. word is declined, Ješ. 23), nothing.

No, S., intj. (Slov., Germ. *no*), hem!

Notsl'aha, a., M. W., s. f. ? (Slov. *nocl'ah*, m), night's lodging.

Ń.

Neba, S.; *nebos*, M., s. m.? (Slov. *nebo*, n.), heaven, the sky.

Nierav (r. *ńerau*), K. (Mag. *nyerni*, to gain, to get), to find (trouver), *Ternia romnia na nierind'om*—Je n'ai pas trouvé de jeune épouse.

Neslixano, *ńeslixane*, S., adv. (Slov. *neslýchaný*, adj.), excessively (prop. unheard). *Kai te thád'ol ńeslixane igen*—That he may be roasted extremely.

Nihar, a. (r. *ńi*-), K., pron. ind. (*ni* + *har*, in no way?), nothing, K.

Nihavo (r. *ńi*-), K., pron. ind. (Gr., Hng. wanting, Bhm. = Sl.), none, K.

Nikai, M. W., S., *nikai*, K., adv. (Gr. wanting; Hng. *nikai*; Bhm. *ńikai*), nowhere.

Nikana, S., *nikana*, K., adv. (Gr. wanting; Hng. *nikana*; Bhm. *ńikana*), never.

Nikatar, S., adv. (Gr., Hng. wanting; Bhm. *ńikathar*), from no-where.

Nikdi, adv. (Slov. *nikdy*), never.

Niko, *niko*, M. W., K., S., pron. ind., decl. like *ko*, q.v. (Gr. wanting; Hng. *niko*; Bhm. *ńiko*), nobody.

Nisht. See *Nisht*.

Numinau, S., vb. tr. (Mag. *nyomni*, Bhm. *yuminav*), to press.

O.

O, S., def. art. *e*., M., S., K., S., *i*. *K., pl. *o*, *e*. m., *e*. f.; obl. sg. *le* m., *la* f., pl. *le* m. f. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. *o* m., *i* f.; pl. *o* m., *e* f.; obl. sg. Gr. *e* m., *i* f., Hng., Bhm. *e* m., *a* f., pl. *e*), the. There are some instances of a peculiar use of this article, viz.: *O karti hraïnenas*—They played cards; *Auka dui ribara ehas*, *xudenas le máchen*—There were two fishermen, they caught fish, etc., where European languages would not use an article. Obl. sg. m. *re*, *M. *ne*, M. W.

Obdarinau, S., vb. tr. (Slov. *obdarit*), to present one (with). Such Slov. vbs. composed with *o*, *ob*- are freely taken over; thus—

ochist'inau, S., vb. tr., to clean.

oháyinau, S., vb. tr., to save.

opust'inau, S., vb. tr., to leave, from the Slov. *očist'ovat'*, *ohájit'*, *opustit'*, and the adj.

obrostnuto, M. W., overgrown.

osvyet'eno, S., illuminated, from the Slov. *obrastnutý*, *osvietený*.

Obrshtos, S., s. m. (Slov. *obršt*, from the German *Obrist*), colonel.

Oda, M., K., S. (Kal. *yoda*, "oui," seems cognate), pron. dem., f. *oda*, pl. m. f. *ola*, K. *oda*, *ola* M., S.; obl. sg. *oles*, m. *ola*, K. *ole*, *oda*, m. *ola*, *oda*, m. S. pl. *olen*, K. *ole*, S. (Gr. wanting; Hng. *oda* m., *odi* f., Ml. 154; Bhm. *oda*, Ješ. 23). 1. That (mentioned already): *Leskri romńi gel'as ki-o rashai te mangel*, *oda rashai ola romńa márd'as*—His wife went to the priest begging: that priest beat that woman. 2. It takes the place of the def. article: *Yoi avl'as pal mande har oda bakróri pal shukár charóri*—She followed me as the sheep (follows) sweet grass (or pasture). 3. Kal. 95. 4. It seems to mean "it." *Kana yoda*

broshindelas—When it rained (when it was raining so hard, K.)

Odia, S., adv. (Gr. wanting; Hng. *odya*; Bhm. = Sl.), thither.

Odiyader, *a.*, M. W., adv. (connected with *odia*), farther there (I should suppose "thence").

Odl'axshinav, M. W., vb. tr. (Slov. *odlahčit'*), to lighten.

The following are also borrowed from the Slov. :—

odlet'inav, M., vb. tr., to fly away.

odoberinav man, M. W., vb. ref., to take leave, to bid adieu.

odpochinav (*mange*), M. W., vb. itr., to repose, from the Slov. *odletet'*, *odobrat'sa*, *odpočivat'*.

Odoi, M., K., S., adv. (Gr. wanting, Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), there.

Odotar, M. W., S. (Gr. forms from another basis, *otar*, *ovotar*, *okotar*; Hng. *odtar*; Bhm. *odothar*), thence, from there.

Odova, M., K., S., pron. dem., f. *odoya*, K., S., pl. *odola*, K.; *odole*, S.; obl. sg. *odole*, *odoles*, m., K., S.; *odola*, f., K., S., pl. *odole*, *odolen*, K., S. (Gr. = Sl.; Hng. *odova*? Mikl. I. gives *odole*, *odoleha*, etc., hardly obl. of *odóno*; Bhm. *odolo*, Ješ. 23). 1. This: *Yavas and-odova kerόro*—Let us go into that house. 2. It (commonly used in this sense): *Odova has rát'i*—It was night-time. *Vash odova*, therefore.

Ohladi, s., S., s. pl. (Slov. *ohlady*), rendezvous.

Ohláshki, S., s. f. pl. (Slov. *ohlášky*), publishing (the banns).

Oxto, K., S.; *ohto*, K., num. card. (Gr., Bhm. = Sl., Hng. *ofta*, *ofto*), eight; *oxtovar*, S.; *ohtovar*, K., eight times.

Oxtoto, S.; *oxtato*, M. W. *ohtoto*, K., num. ord. (Gr., Bhm. = Sl., Hng. *oftato*), eighth.

Okia, S., adv. (Gr. from another base, *okotia*; Hng. wanting; Bhm. = Sl.), away.

Okiyader, M. W., p. *okiyader*, after a little while.

Okoda, S., pron. dem. f. = m. pl. *okole*, obl. sg. *okole*, m. *okala*, f. pl. *okole*, that, this. *Feder me java okia the okole avreha u okoda dujéne achna adai*—It will be better (that) I should go away with this other, and these two will remain here.

Okodoi, M. W. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. wanting), there.

Okodova, M. W., K., S., pron., f. *okodoya*, pl. *okodola*; obl. sg. *okodole*, m. *okodola*, f. pl. *okodole*, K. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. wanting), this, that. There are no instances of its use.

Okrem, S., prp. (cf. Serb. *okrom*), beside, except. This prp. is never constructed with the prepositional case as other prps., but always with the nom. *Na jánlas ňiko okrem mro Devel*—None knew (of it) except my God.

Olovenno, S.; even Mikl., M. W. XII. 99, gives *oloveno* (*neha*), adj. (Slov. *olovený*), leaden (M. *l. c.* translates "lead").

Oltaris, S., s. m. (Slov., Mag., *oltár*), altar.

Omsha, S., s. f. (Slov. *omša*), mass.

Óra, S.; *ora*, K., S., f. pl. *ora*, *K.; *óri*, S. (Gr. *ora*; Hng. not noted; Bhm. *óra*. The Gr. *ora* is certainly borrowed from the modern Greek, Pa. 397; but the Sl. Bhm. probably from the Mag. *óra*), hour.

Ornátos, S., s. m. (Slov. *ornát*; Germ. *ornat*), chasuble.

Osl'ichki, S., s. pl. (the Slov. original word is not known to me), grindstone.

Ostro, M. W., adj. (Slov. *ostrý*; Slavon. *ostrŭ*, Mikl., M. W. I. 28), sharp.

Otar, M. W., S.; *othar*, M. W., adv. (Gr. *otar*, Hng., Bhm. wanting, cf. *odotar*), thence, from there.

Ovau, *M., K., *K. (Gr., Bhm. wanting, Hng. *ovav*), to become, to remain. *Te me toha ovahi*—If I remain with thee, *K. *Mame toha n-ovadai* (= *n-ovava adai* ?)—To-morrow I shall be no more here with thee, *K. pf. *úl'om*, impf. *úl'omas*, S.

Ö.

Öfta. See *Efta*.

P.

Paitrin, S. *patrin*, *K., s. [(Gr. *patr*, *patri*, *patrin*; Hng. *patrin*, *patri*; Bhm. *paitrin*), a leaf.

Pakinav, M. W., vb. tr. (Slov. *pakovat'*, from Germ. *packen*), to pack.

Pal, M. W., K., S., prp. (Gr. *pale*; Hng. *pále*; Bhm. = Sl.). 1. Behind: *You la tézh chid'as auka pal leste*—He threw it even behind himself. *Na phiryom pal late*—I did not follow her (lit. walk behind her). *Les chind'as pal o kan*—He gave him a cuff on (lit. struck him behind) the ear, M. W. 2. After: *Atoska tut pal avrende meres*—Thou wilt die after the others, K. *Pal taysaste*, after to-morrow, M. W. 3. From: *Yekh znakos pal o d'emantovo vesh*—A sign from the diamond forest. *Le tut akada angrust'i pal mro vast*—Take (for thee) this ring from my hand. 4. For: *Hoske na rovavas pal mro lácho phral?*—Why should I not weep for my good brother? *Bichad'as pal o haidukos*—He sent for the watchman, M. W.; cf. s. *l'úto*. 5. At: *O ráklo has súto pal o skamin*—The boy was sleeping at the table (Slavism). 6. On the other side of: *Pal oda páńi*—On the other side of the river, M. W. 7. To, into: *Yavas pal o khéra*—Let us go to the houses, M. W. *Pal o báre kafehauzi phírnas*—They used to go into the large coffee-houses. *Dińas o rai te kurentinel pal o báre fóri*—The gentleman ordered to send advertisements to all the large towns. 8. By, K. Peculiar phrases are: *So hi man pal odova?*—What matters it? (Slov. *čo je mi po tém?*). *Uzh hi pal leste*—He is dead already (Slov. *uz je po něm*).

Palal, K., adv. (Gr., Bhm. = Sl., Hng. *pálal*), behind, at the back of. *Mislind'as, heu les odova o beng il'as palal*—He thought the devil was after him, K.

Pále, S.; *pale*, M., K.; *palé*, M. W.; *páles*, S.; *pala*, K., adv. (Gr., Bhm. *pale*; Hng. *pale*, back), then afterwards. Very often used in tales (cf. *papale*) by awkward speakers: thus the tale "*O Trin Draki*" begins: *Kai has yekhe raske trin rákl'a. Papale oda trin rákl'a géle and-o ribńikos te land'árel; papale avl'as yekh drakos; kana avl'as oda drakos pále la il'as. Kana la il'as pále laha denáshchas ande yekhbar . . . Pále yekh bruntsl'ikos pes vichinlas. pále you gél'as ole raske te phenel, ole istone raske; papale you phend'as, hoi ola rákl'a mosi te rakel. Papále lakro dad phend'as*, etc.

Pánch, S.; *panch*, M. W., K., num. card. (Gr. *panch*, *panj*; Hng. *panch*; Bhm. *panj*), five.
panchvar, five times.

Panchto, K., S., num. ord. (Gr. not noted; Hng. *pánchto*; Bhm. *pánjto*), fifth.

Páńi, M., S.; *pani*, K.; *payi*, M. W., s. m. (Gr. *pani*; Hng. *páni*; Bhm. *páńi*), 1. water; 2. river. *Pal oda páńi*—On the other side of the river, M. W.

Panióri (r. *pań*-), K., s. m. (dim. of the the same), water.

Papále, *papale*, *papáles*, *papales*, S., adv. (Gr. *palpale*, back; Hng. *papále*; Bhm. *papale*). 1. Again: *Papáles chak les aver trito zhebrákos stretńind'as*—Again a third beggar met with him. 2. Afterwards; cf. s. *pále*.

Papińa? M. W., s. f. (*papińa*, nom. pl.: the form of the nom. sg. has not been stated; (Gr., Hng. *papin*, *papińa*; Bhm. *pápin*), goose.

Papińóri, M. W., s. f. (dim. of the same), goose.

Papiris, S., s. m. (Slov. *papier*, from Germ.), paper.

Papirkos, S., s. m. (Slov. dim. *papierok*), paper.

Par. See *Bár*.

Pár, *a*., K., s., silk.

Pára, S., s. pl.? (The nom. sg. may be *pára* f., or *páros*, m.; the only passage where the word occurs proves nothing: Slov. *pár*, m.; Germ. *paar*), pair. *Na has pára ole svetoske*—There was no pair (were no pairs?) in the world.

Paramisla, K., s. f. (Gr. wanting; Hng. *paramisi*; Bhm. *paramisa*), tale, story.

Parasht'óvin, S.; *parashtovin*, M. W., s. m. (Gr. *paraskevi*; Hng. *parasht'o*; Bhm. = Sl.), Friday.

Parikerau, M. W., S., vb. tr. (Gr. wanting; Hng., Bhm. *parikerav*), 1. To thank; 2. To greet, to salute.

Parinau, S., vb. tr. (Slov. *parit'*, to stew), to scald.

Paripi. See *Pháripen*.

Párno, S., *parno*, *K., M. W., adj. (Gr., Hng. *párno*; Hng., Bhm. *párno*). 1. White: *Te na murdal'ol auka har párno grast, hoi les avlas bári laj*—That he may die like a white horse; that would cause him much shame.[1] *Parno balo*, *K., bean; cf. s. *chirikl'i*. *Parne-pórengero*, M. W., white-feathered. 2. Light, clear; *Suto pr-o parno dives*—He was sleeping till broad day, M. W.

Párňi, a., S., s. f. (fem. of *párno*), bean (prop. white).

Parniovav, K., vb. itr. (Gr. *parňovava*, Hng. *parňovav*, Bhm. not noted), to become white. *Le thudestar parniola*—With good whey she will become white, K.

Parovau, S. s., *parunau*.

Parteka, S., s. f. (Slov. *partieka*, ware), kerchief.

Parunau, M. W., S.; *parovau*, S., vb. tr. (Gr., Hng. wanting; Rm. *parunau*; Bhm. *parovau*), 1. To bury; 2. To collect, M. W.

Pas o phurdia, K. (The last word means bridges), toll-house, K.

Pás, S.; *pasos*, M. W. s. m. (Slov. *pás*), girdle.

Pasinau, M. W., vb. tr. (Slov. *pást'*), to pasture, to graze.

Pasos, S. (Slov. *pas*, from Germ.), passport.

Past'iris, M. W., s. m. (Slov. *pastier*), herdsman.

Pásh. See *Yepash*.

Pash, M. W., K. S.; *pásh, pashe*, M. W., prp. (Gr. *pasho, pacho*; Hng., Bhm. *pash*). 1. Near: *Somas beshchi pash e yag*—I was seated near the fire, K. 2. With: *Havoro so hi man pash mande*—All that I have with me. 3. On: *Diňas les pash o kan*—He gave him a cuff (lit. on the ear), M. W.

Pashal, M. W., prp. (Gr., Hng. = Sl., adv.; Bhm. = Sl. prp.), by. *Pashal mro gazdovstvos*—By my economy, M. W. *Xudiňas les pashal o men*—He seized him by the neck, M. W.

Pashel. See *Yepash*.

Pashlo, M. W., S.; *páshlo*, K. adj. (Gr., Bhm. = Sl.; Hng. not noted), lying. *Kana sal tu katar mande páshli*—When thou art (lying) beside me, K.

Pashl'ovau, M. W.; *páshl'ovau*, S., vb. itr. (Gr. *pashl'ovava*; Hng. *pashlovav*; Bhm. wanting), to lie down. *Páshl'ovau man*, S., *id.*

Pashváro, S., s. m. (Gr. *pashavro*, side, flank; Hng. *pashvar*; Bhm. wanting), rib.

Patiav, M. W., *K., vb. itr. (Gr., *pakyava*; Hng., Bhm. *pat'av*), to trust.

Pativálo, K., adj. (Gr. wanting; Hng. *paćivalo*; Bhm. *pat'iválo*, true), honourable, honest.

Pe. See *Pre*.

Pekau, S., *pekav*, M., vb. tr. (Gr. *pekava*; Hng., Bhm. *pekav*), to bake.

Pekla, S., s. f. (Slov. *peklo*), hell.

Pelo, K., *K., s. m. (Gr., Bhm. *pelo*; Hng. *pélo*, testicle), *membrum muliebre*.

Pendexori, *M., s. f. (Gr., Hng. wanting; Rm. *pendex*; Bhm. *pelenda*), hazel-nut.

Pepa, K., s. f.? (Mag. *pép, pap*), grits, groats.

Pér, M. W. S., s. m. (Gr. *per, por*; Hng. *per*; Bhm. = Sl.), belly.

Peras, M. W., *pheras*, S., s. m. (Gr., Bhm. wanting; Hng. *peryas*), jest.

Perau, S., *perav*; M. W., K., vb. itr., pt. pf. *pélo*, S.; *pelo*, M. W. (Gr. *perava*; Hng. *perav, pherav*; Bhm. *pérav*), 1. To fall; 2. To reach. *Naschi ňikai pél'as ando gaveste*—He could nowhere reach (find) a village. A singular phrase is *Leske pél'as l'uto*. He regretted it (*Es that ihm leid*), M. W.

Pes, M., K., S., pron. refl. obl. sg. pl. (Gr. nom. *po*, obl. *pes*; Hng. *pe*, pl. *pumen*; Bhm. *pes*). 1. Himself, herself, itself: *Kind'as peske pále id'a pre late he pre peste*—He then bought a suit of clothes for her and for himself. *Has peske na has peske yek rai*—Erat sibi, non erat sibi quidam dominus, M.

[1] I only once (in the tale *O Rom th-o Drakos*, I.) heard this singular phrase, denoting a miserable death.

2. One another: *Yon phende mashkar peste*—They spoke among themselves *Xudine pes sodujéne chumidinde pes yekhetáne he dine peske o vast*—They embraced one another, kissed one another, and gave the hand to one another.

Pesatúno, M. W., s. m. (cf. Mikl., M. W. x. 415), watchman, policeman.

Pixńovau, S., vb. tr. (Slov. *pichnut'*, to sting), to pierce. *Har les tsidelas tses oda kare auka leske oda karo zhi pixńil'as and-a leste*—When he drew himself through the thorns, that thorn pierced into his body (lit. him).

Pioli romni, a., K., s. f. (Gr. *pivli*; Hng., Bhm. *phivli*), widow.

Pipinav, M., vb. tr. (Serb. *pipăti*, Mikl., M., M. W. IV. 7; cf. Rum. *pipăire*), to stroke, to palm.

Piráno, M. W., K., S.; *pirano*, *K.; *piráńo*, *M., adj. s. m. (Gr. *piryano*, fornicator; Hng., Bhm. *piráno*), beloved.

Piranoro, M. W., s. m. (dim. of the same), beloved.

Piráńi, S.; *pirani*, K., s. f. (fem. of *piráno*), sweetheart.

Píri, S.; *piri*, K., s. f. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. *piri*), pot.

Piro, *píro*, K., s. m. (Gr. *pindo*, *pirno piro*; Hng. *pindro*, *pro*; Bhm. *pro*), foot, leg.

Pishalo, S., s. m. (Gr. wanting; cf. *pishava*, to grind in a mill; Hng. *pishyalo*; Bhm. = Sl.), miller.

Pishot, M. W. s. m. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), bellows.

Pishót, K., s. m.? (connected with Gr. *pishava*, to mill?), *pirogue* of cheese encased in paste, K.

Piyau, S.; *piyav*, K.; *piav*, *M., vb. tr. (Gr. *piava*; Hng., Bhm. *piyav*). 1. To drink; 2. To smoke. *Dava tut trin báre thuvale, so tuke piyeha auka sar yekh rai*—I shall thee give three large pipes; thou wilt smoke like a gentleman. 3. To kiss; *Piav tro vad'óre*—I kiss thy soul, *M.

Pl'exos, S., s. m. (Slov. *plech*; Germ. *Blech*, thin plate of metal), lock.

Po, M. W., K., S., prp. (Slavon., Slov. *po*), 1. Used in forming num. distr., *e.g.* *po yek*, K., one to each; *po dui*, two to each; cf. Slov. *po troch*, three and three, etc. *Chúrdelas po yek pishót*—He threw the *pirogues* one by one, K. *Dińas po yekhes kariyé o Yánkos*—John killed them by shooting one by one. 2. Forming other adverbial expressions: *Po lókes*, cf. s. *lóko*. *Lestar po koter achlo*, lit. Of him (something) remained in pieces (Slov. *po kuse zostalo*, M. W.).

Pobisterau, S., vb. tr. (Gr. *bistrava*; Hng. *bistrav*, *pobisterav*; Bhm. *pobistérav*), to forget.

REVIEWS.

Die Mundart der slovakischen Zigeuner. By DR. RUDOLF VON SOWA. Göttingen, 1887.[1]

DR. R. VON SOWA'S book on the dialect of the Slovak Gypsies may be heartily recommended to the attention of those interested in Gypsy language and lore. The little volume forms indeed a substantial and valuable contribution to Romani research. It supplies a sufficiently complete and carefully worked out comparative analysis, phonetic as well as grammatical and syntactic, of the dialect of the Gypsy tribes scattered among the Slavonic inhabitants of the moun-

[1] Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht's Verlag: Göttingen. Price 7 *M.*

tainous districts of north-eastern Hungary. The literary materials on which this sketch is based consist of a number of popular tales, and a song, collected by the author himself, from the mouths of Gypsies, during a holiday stay at the Trenczin spa (Teplicz); and of numerous colloquial phrases, drawn up by himself, with the help of his Gypsy friends, as calculated to bring out more fully the syntactic usages of the language. In the appendix Dr. von Sowa gives the text of nine such tales, while three others had been previously published by him in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxxix. The study of the dialect is, moreover, facilitated by a Slovak Gypsy-German vocabulary, which members of the Gypsy Lore Society now have the privilege of being able to consult in the considerably enlarged form in which it is being published in their Journal.

As might be expected from the geographical position of the Slovak Gypsies, their dialect forms, in many respects, a connecting-link between those of the Hungarian and the Bohemian (Czech) Gypsies. It is, however, more closely related to the latter than to the former dialect; so much so indeed that Dr. von Sowa does not hesitate to class it as a subdivision of the Czech Gypsy dialect, or the fourth of the thirteen groups into which Professor Miklošich proposes to divide the European dialects of Romani. He notes, however, at least two points in which the dialect of the Slovak Gypsies might at first sight seem to present a more archaic appearance than both the Czech and Magyar Gypsy dialects. The first of these points is the formal distinction made almost invariably by the Slovak Gypsies between the nominative singular and plural of nouns; whilst Czech Romani admits of certain classes of nouns making their plural the same as the singular. But as this is also the case to some extent in the dialect of the Greek Gypsies, this grammatical peculiarity of the Slovak dialect is probably after all a modern feature, due to the working of "analogy." The other point is the use of a finite form for the third person plural of the perfect (identical with that of the third singular, in *jas*), besides the ordinary periphrastic one, exclusively used in other dialects, consisting of the nominative plural of the past participle. As regards this feature also it is very doubtful whether we are to see in it anything more than the comparatively recent result of the levelling tendencies of speech, and the striving after uniformity, to which tendency doubtless is due the perhaps analogous use, in vulgar English, of the singular of verbs as predicate to a subject in the plural. Such would

also seem to be the view of Dr. v. Sowa who, on the other hand, is apparently inclined to look upon the peculiar finite forms of the third plural perfect in *en* (*jen*, *jan*) in the dialect of the German Gypsies, as genuinely archaic forms.

Of the gerund form in *indos* (*indo*), frequently met with in the Czech Gypsy texts, and mentioned by Miklosich as likewise used by the Gypsies of the Carpathians, Dr. v. Sowa is unable to adduce any example; indeed the Gypsies he consulted on the subject declared forms such as *kerindos, kerindo* to be altogether unintelligible to them. It is nevertheless possible that this interesting grammatical relic, so closely coinciding with analogous forms in *indo, ando, endo* in Indian vernaculars, may yet be met with in other parts of the Slovakian district.

Like other Romani dialects that of the Slovak Gypsies has incorporated not a few words from the languages of the surrounding peoples. Leaving out of account old loan-words from Greek, Persian, etc., which this dialect shares with Gypsy speech generally, Dr. v. Sowa computes the proportion of modern foreign elements at about twenty-three per cent.; of which as many as nineteen per cent. are assigned by him to Slovak origin, while three per cent. are ascribed to Magyar, and one per cent. to German sources. To some extent a similar process of adaptation may also be traced in the grammatical and formative system. Thus, while the Slovak Gypsy makes the comparative of adjectives in the usual manner by affixion of *der* (originally borrowed from Greek), the function of the superlative is supplied in his dialect by prefixing to the comparative the Slavonic participle *nai* (Czech, *naj*), e.g., *nai-bareder*; just as in the British dialect this want is supplied either by the affixion of the English ending *est*, or by the prefixion of *most*, to the comparative (or positive)—*baurodarest, most baurodar*.

In his introduction Dr. v. Sowa also enters on the vexed question regarding the immediate affinities of Gypsy speech. While he rightly considers the Indian origin of the Gypsies a settled question, he leaves it doubtful whether they took their origin from the north-eastern tribes of India proper, or from the allied Kafir and Dardu tribes of the Hindu-kush. He has, however, taken the trouble to set clearly before his readers the several points, phonetic, lexical, and grammatical, that seem to tell in favour of the one and the other alternative; and though he does not, indeed, commit himself to any definite view on this point, it seems pretty clear from his marshalling of the facts of the case that his leaning is decidedly in favour of the

Indian origin of Gypsy speech. If such be really his opinion, he may confidently count on having with him the great majority of those who have paid any attention to the question.

A more thorough acquaintance with the dialects of those detached mountain tribes may, no doubt, yield other points of resemblance between them and Romani which have hitherto escaped the attention of scholars; but so far as the available linguistic evidence goes, it certainly seems to be overwhelmingly in favour of the Indian vernaculars. Probably the strongest point that has, so far, been adduced in support of the claims of the Hindu-kush dialects, is the pretty close correspondence of their numeral terms with those of the Gypsies, especially as regards the decades from 40 upwards. While the modern vernaculars of India use exclusively the compact Sanskritic terms derived from the respective units, the Dardu-Kafir dialects, on the other hand, as well as usually the Gypsy dialects, form their higher decades by means of multiplication. It is, however, worthy of notice that even in this respect there is some difference between these languages. For while those northern dialects employ throughout the vigesimal system, forming their compound numeral terms by mere juxtaposition (two-score, etc., *du-ishi*, *tre-vishi*, etc.), Romani, on the other hand, uses not only the vigesimal form—and that with the Sanskritic connecting particle of multiplication *vār*—e.g. *dui-var-bish* (2 × 20), *trin-var-bish* (3 × 20)—but also compound multiples of ten, and even simple terms derived from the Greek. Indeed, in the matter of numerals as in others, the Gypsies have evidently been the docile pupils of the people with whom they came into contact in their wanderings; and it seems to me by no means certain that their use of vigesimal combinations had anything to do with the analogous practices prevalent among the Hindu-kush tribes. The spread of the vigesimal method of counting over peoples and tribes of such heterogeneous origin—as that of the Finnish tribes, the tribes of the Caucasus, the Albanese, the Basques, the Celts, and the Danes (alone of Teutonic tribes)—is in truth far too intricate a problem to draw, as yet, any safe conclusions from it.

On the other hand, the phonetic and grammatical features which the Indian vernaculars share with Romani are too striking and numerous to be lightly set aside. The marked tendency of changing the sibilant into *h*, so prevalent in these dialects, while entirely wanting in the Hindu-kush languages, is an important point; and to account for it the supporters of the Dardu-Kafir theory would have to assume this tendency in Romani to have been entirely due to

Iranian influence. But what of the many other points duly set forth by Dr. v. Sowa? And what of the coincidences of vocabulary? Surely some of the words which Romani has in common with the Indian vernaculars, but which are wanting in all the Dardu-Kafir dialects—*pāni*, water; *churi*, knife; *bersh* (*varsha*), year; *kālo*, black—are sufficiently eloquent witnesses of the genealogical affinities of these tribes. Indeed, one might almost think that the one word *bersh*, Sanskrit *varsha* (orig. rain, the rainy season), the year, was alone sufficient to make us seek on Indian soil for the original homes of the Gypsies.

J. EGGELING.

Flemish Slang. *Het Bargoensch van Roeselare* (Roeselare, 1890, 19 pp.); and Review thereof by Professor Aug. Gittée in the July number of *Volkskunde*, pp. 137-139.

In this pamphlet, Mr. De Seyn supplements the Slang Dictionary of Mr. I. Teirlinck, published in 1886;[1] but his additional words are exclusively collected from a certain caste in the town of Roeselare, although it is not unlikely that they are also found in the *argot* of other Flemish towns. This caste is that of the *Nieuwmarktenaars*, so called from the *Nieuwmarkt*, where they live, to the number of about a thousand. "In all respects they differ from the surrounding population. Their ethnological characteristics are the extraordinary size of the men, their light-brown (*lichtgetaande*) complexion, and their dark hair; whereas the rest of the townspeople are true Flemings, with rosy cheeks and fair complexion. The Nieuwmarktenaars are nearly all pedlars, selling their wares throughout the country. Their journeys usually begin with March, and they do not return to their homes till October. . . . Their journeys are believed to be very profitable. They travel round with cart and horse," obtaining fodder for their horses and for themselves by fair means or foul. "They never had a clear appreciation of 'mine and thine,' and if they have recently shown signs of improvement, this is due rather to the policeman and the arm of the law." "Their reputation was formerly even worse, and if the people of Roeselare are not justified in calling them 'murderers,' they have certainly done much to deserve the name. Among themselves they talk a jargon which,

[1] *Woordenboek van Bargoensch*,' Roeselare, Belgium (De Seyn-Verhougstraete). Price 5 francs.

like other jargons, is (by Dutch-speaking people) called *Bargoensch* (*i.e.* cant, or slang). It is said that their Flemish resembles the dialect of Veurne, rather than that of Roeselare. They call themselves *Dgipsen.* In this word one undoubtedly recognises *Egypten,* which seems to indicate the so-called *Egyptenaars,* or *Heidens* of the Netherlands, commonly called *Dgipten* or *Dgippenessen* in Flanders.[1] It is true this theory has been called in question, notably by the learned Vander Kindere, in *Patria Belgica* (2d part)."

The accounts thus given by M. Gittée (chiefly obtained from M. De Seyn) certainly indicate a very Gypsy-like caste; whatever may be the meaning of their self-applied name of *Gipsen.* Nevertheless the "slang" which they talk is obviously not Romanes. A few—a very few words (*jokker,* or *tjoeker,* "dog"; *mollen,* "to kill," and *mollement,* "death"; perhaps *bing, being, benk,* "man"—to be identified with "devil" in a familiar sense) may be classed as Romanes. But the rest, the *bargoensch* itself seems to be merely a manufactured slang. As such slang, however, is spoken all over Belgium, on M. de Seyn's testimony, by the itinerant castes, it is unquestionably worth studying; and we agree with M. Gittée in expressing the hope that the compiler of the Roeselare dictionary may find an early opportunity of carrying out his intention of describing more particularly the people who daily use that form of speech.

The Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1887, Part II. has an illustration (p. 210) from a photograph in the United States National Museum, of a Turkish Gypsy woman carrying her child in the pedlar's bundle slung at her back. The woman's face, with its short, broad nose and coarse mouth, is of a low type; African rather than Gypsy, one would almost say.—In the two handsome volumes forming *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon, and Cant,*[2] there are many Gypsy words cited and explained, which is obviously a result of the fact that the dictionary has been largely compiled and edited by Mr. C. G. Leland. It may, indeed, be reasonably objected that a considerable number of those words, being purely Gypsy, ought not to have found a place in a dictionary of Cant and Slang. If such words as *bālo, balovas, chovihani, kori, kushto, rawnie, rummer, romado, rye*

[1] In his *Heidens of Egyptiërs* (p. 15), Dirks speaks of a lane at Audegem, near Dendermonde, which is known as "*Jippenessen-straatje,*" because the hills which border it are inhabited by cave-dwelling "Jippenessen." These people he clearly regards as Gypsies.

[2] London, 1890: Whittaker and Co. Compiled and Edited by Albert Barrère and Charles G. Leland, M.A., etc.

staruben, tan, tāni, and *trūppo* are entitled to be so included, why not every word in the Romani vocabulary? It is true that former slang lists have contained several Gypsy words; but this was when the very existence of a Gypsy *language* was scarcely known, and slang or "cant" was ignorantly assumed to be the form of speech employed by Gypsies. No doubt there are a few words, of which *pal* is a notable instance, that, though Gypsy in origin, have now passed into ordinary slang. But this cannot be said of such words as those given above.—The September number of the *New Review* (London) opens with a Gypsy Song by the Queen of Roumania, "Carmen Sylva," which, being written in English, and containing nothing specially Gypsy, has a poetical rather than a scientific interest.—An article on "The Aborigines of Sokotra," contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* (July 1890) by Major J. S. King, contains several suggestions of a Gypsy connection. The statement of an Arab writer of the tenth century is quoted, to the effect that the island of Sokotra "is one of the stations frequented by the Indian corsairs called *Bawârij*, which châse the Arab ships bound for India and China"; and these were the people of Sind whom Sir W. Jones, De Goeje, Campbell, and others regard as Gypsies.[1] Not inconsistent with this belief is Marco Polo's statement, also cited by Major King, that the people of Sokotra "are the best enchanters in the world," and "they insist that their forefathers followed" such practices. And this supports Major King's belief that the Sokotran religion was that of ancient Chaldea. There is nothing, however, in his list of Sokotran words that points to a linguistic affinity with Romani.

There may be further noted an interesting article on "Zigeunerdichtung," contributed to the *Wissenschaftliche Beilage der Leipziger Zeitung* (17th April 1890); two columns of the London *Spectator* of August 2, 1890, containing oft-repeated statements about Gypsies and the sham-Gypsy Bamfylde-Moore-Carew; a long Gypsy article, "Unter Zigeunern," by Dr. Schwicker, in the *Beilage zur Münchener Allgemeinen Zeitung*, Nos. 229, 230 (embodying the contents of Dr. von Wlislocki's *Vom Wandernden Zigeunervolke*); and the announcement that the current volume of the Slovenian Journal, *Dom in Svet* (House and World), edited by Dr. Lampe of Laibach, contains a series of articles on Gypsy life and language.

Mr. Crofton also supplies us with the following memoranda of the current year:—

[1] See De Goeje's *Bijdrage*, and *Jour. Gyp. L. Soc.* i. 223-7.

Manchester Examiner, Manchester, April 3.—A Gypsy woman and her husband charged at Huddersfield Police Court with having obtained £105 from a farmer named Butterfield, "to have his planet ruled."

North British Daily Mail, Glasgow, April 5.—Isabella Lovell, aged 81, died at a camp in Bell Street, Partick, and was buried by her son William at Whiteinch. The camp numbered four or five caravans, and several tents of varying shapes and sizes. "The tribe are thrifty and well-behaved."

Daily Graphic, May 5.—A camp of eleven tents at One Tree Hill, Honor Oak, under Abraham Lee, "the Gypsy King," who is reported to be worth at least £2000.

South London Observer, May 17.—The Camberwell parish officers and police evicted the Gypsies encamped at Honor Oak, "who were in a filthy condition, and an intolerable nuisance to the neighbourhood."

South Wales Daily Telegram, June 4.—Caleb and Mansfield (female) Hurn charged at Newport with camping on Mendelgrief Road.

Daily Graphic, June 5.—Four illustrations of a Beloochee Gypsy camp in Ceylon, including one of a female juggler performing tricks with rupees.

Newcastle Weekly Chronicle, June 7.—"Romanny Lore," chiefly about the Faws of Kirk Yetholm.

The Echo, London, June 30.—John Smith fined for trespass on Mitcham Common, near Croydon.

Chorley Guardian, July 12.—George Smith of Coalville, visited "the great encampment of nomads" at Swanley in Kent, and found 250 families, computed at 1200 individuals.

Evening News and Post, London, July 17.—Emma Ball, aged 30, and her father, Charles Duke, charged at Chertsey with having attempted to murder the husband of the female prisoner with a reaping-hook.

Surrey Comet, July 19.—Complaint made respecting Marvin and other Gypsies encamped at Teddington.

Evening News and Post, August 19.—Owen Smith of Reading and Ellen Lee of Brighton married at Holy Trinity Church, Windsor, by the Queen's Chaplain.

Sidcup Times, August 22.—Henry Lea summoned for threatening violence to his sister Reiney Boswell, a Gypsy woman of Orpington.

Bucks Herald, August 30.—"Topical Notes," which allude to the wedding of Owen Smith and Ellen Lee at Windsor, and add that on August 14, 1822, at Nether Winchendon, near Aylesbury, John Fletcher, Gypsy, married Tehanna Buckland, daughter of Ned Buckland, some of whose family settled in High Wycombe; and on October 31, 1831, at Hawridge, near Tring and Chesham, a Gypsy wedding took place, the procession to church being headed by four men playing violins, and four girls beating tambourines.

Sussex Express, September 6.—At Hartlake Bridge, Capel, near Tunbridge, Gypsies were encamped, and were a great nuisance, and threatened to throw into the water any one who interfered with them.

Glasgow Weekly Mail, September 6.—An action commenced by some Gypsies against a miller for £800, value of goods washed away, by the miller turning the water on to their camping-ground, near the river Ssuscha, at Kritschina, in Russia.

Anon.—Mary Ann Draper, at Croydon, sentenced to three months' imprisonment for inducing a lady to pay her £11, 10s. "to enchant her husband home from America," and for obtaining 12s. and a ring from the lady's housekeeper "on promise to find her a husband within three months."

It is stated in the *Berliner Tagblatt* (Sept. 12, 1890) that on 11th Sept. one thousand Gypsies assembled at Halensee, to celebrate the end of their summer campaign previous to going south. "They ate and drank immensely!"

NOTES AND QUERIES.

I.

The Last Will and Testament of Maládros.[1]

(Madrid: Published by Don Juan Hidalgo. Translated from the original by A. J. Duffield.)

"In the name of the Great God,[2] who made the heavens and the earth, and of his blessed Mother, Queen of Heaven, I, Maládros, confined in this stone jug, brought to the last pass, and awaiting judgment, make my will with a free will, being in sound health of body and mind, finding me close to death,[3] and fearing the heavy calamity which is hanging over me, from which no man can deliver me, say and declare all that is herein said in the presence of my executors.[4]

"First of all, my soul, freed of all evil, and unfettered, I commend to Him to whom it belongs—Who suffered for it, and by Whose mercy it is ransomed from chains.

"*Item*, I order that my body,[5] when it is brought to rest on the gallows,[6] be given to the charitable, that it may be planted in the church,[7] with some soil from the elm grove where the braves meet. I desire this, and it is my will.

"*Item*, I order that my clothes[8] be sold by auction, the proceeds to be given to those of the brotherhood who are here in gaol to buy a skin of fine wine,[9] to console them in their misery, and because they have prayed for me and said psalms and stuck up candles, to guard against the evil eye and keep off all spies.

"*Item*, I order that my interment shall be after the manner following: Both my servants shall walk, one on the left, the other on the right of my corpse, in mourning caps, and long mourning gowns, from the place of execution, and on arriving at the church they shall say six masses for me—the gallows[10] having been brought in in the meantime.

"*Item*, In order that there may be no row, disturbance, or fighting between the Gypsies[11] and the thieves[12] who may attend, I order that the congregation of common thieves shall walk on the left hand, and the thieves[13] of respectability on the right,—each in his right place, excepting the thief[14] or Gypsy[15] who comes in mourning, or carries a candle—who may walk where they please, no one interfering—the servants[16] and the fortune-tellers[17] going as they like.

"*Item*, I order that Beltrana, seeing that she is now deprived of my protection, shall go to Lorenzo del Barco for care and providence, and I give her to him in remembrance of my love for her. I also make him my chief executor, who shall see that all my wishes be carried out so far as they can be. Likewise my servants, Buharro and Gil Buytrera, I make executors to look after accounts.

"*Item*, I order Beltrana not to part with my servant on any account, because of his good services to her and to me, but to keep him till he is of age, and has made his mark among the lads,[18] and she shall give him my red necktie,[19] which he is to wear in all kinds of company. And I also order that Baldeo be rescued from the tavern where he is kept a prisoner for ten reals,[20] in order that the servants may know my care for them.

---

1 *Maládros*, from *mal ladron*, an evil thief.
2 *El Gran Coyme.*
3 *la cierta*, the certain.
4 *Albaceas.*
5 *El navio.*
6 *Basilea.*
7 *Iglesia.*
8 *Mi farda.*
9 *Cuero de tiple godo.*
10 *Arbol*, the tree.
11 *Germania.*
12 *Birlesca.*
13 *los jayânes.*
14 *Birlo.*
15 *Germano.*
16 *Mandiles.*
17 *Calas.*
18 *Marca en el cerco.*
19 *Adorno roxo.*
20 *diez cobas.*

"*Item*, I order that Mizo, the chulillo,[21] because he is yet of tender years, be placed in the care of Mase Juan, to be taught dexterity, and those new cuts which the father confessors condemn. Mase Pedro shall teach him point, and Guirola nimbleness, and becoming a master of arms he shall need no other inheritance. My Travada,[22] and Molleron,[23] my Rodancho,[24] and Origuela,[25] I deposit in the Palomeras[26] to show the confidence I have in them, and in order that on the approach of danger they may be given to friends for their defence.

"All this I say, order, and desire, and it is my last Will, which I sign with my name, my executors being present.

"Dated, in the Hospital of the gaol in Seville, May 27, 1570.

"(*Witnesses*) Moscon, he of Columbrera; Fatigoso, Juan Zufrido, El Guancho, Pedro Polea, Magullon, Lope Recio, and Romi of Villanueva.

"I, Mayrena, notary public, being present as well as all the above named."

2.

Scottish Gypsies: A Chequered Character.

The following account, evoked by what appears to have been a *tirage à part* of the well-known articles in *Blackwood's Magazine* of 1817, was contributed to the February number of *The Literary and Statistical Magazine for Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1818:—

"A Pamphlet which appeared lately on the state of the Gypsies, or *Tinklers*, as they are generally called in the county of Lanark, has attracted the attention of the public to that neglected, and too frequently worthless, class of people. Most of the notices respecting the Gypsies which have appeared in the periodical journals that I have seen are either silent with regard to their religious sentiments, or assert that they have no idea whatever of the doctrines of Scripture. As the habits and manners of the different parties or *gangs*, although on the whole they bear a striking resemblance to each other, have very considerable shades of difference, so, in this most important point, it would be foolish to expect an exact uniformity. An anecdote which I shall relate may, perhaps, justify this opinion. I must, however, previously request the reader's indulgence to a few introductory sentences.

"About the middle of the last century, or rather a little before that period, *Matthew Baillie*, who was at the head of a gang of *Tinklers* of the very worst description, had his residence in Biggar. I cannot precisely state at what time he died; but I know his wife, Mary Alston, called by the country people *Youston*, outlived him several years, as I remember to have seen her once or twice in the year 1771 or 1772. Her appearance was calculated to strike with terror the minds of young people, and this was heightened by the many horrid stories told of her cruelty to children. Many years after the date above mentioned, I distinctly recollect that my father, who had often given lodging both to the *chief* and his *wife*, used frequently to assert that the reports respecting the atrocity of the latter were wholly unfounded. Baillie and his gang at first supported themselves almost wholly by small thefts and pocket-picking, at which Mary is said to have been very dexterous. Some of the farmers for many miles round were said latterly to pay blackmail to Baillie, and at fairs and markets he, for a small sum, gave a *passport* of a simple but very efficient sort. Behind the rider who paid for this

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[21] A little chap.

[22] [23] [24] [25] I do not know these terms—they may be tools for housebreaking that could be used as arms.

[26] This word signifies a dovecot, also a hiding-place, and may mean a Gypsy's den.

protection he put one of the gang, who knew the men that were posted on the different roads, at certain distances from each other, on purpose to rob, as well as the particular places at which they were stationed. When the rider, who was generally a farmer, arrived at these beset places, on the robbers' appearing and seizing the reins of the horse, the tinkler behind spoke to his accomplices in the *slang* language, and he was allowed to proceed uninjured. As soon as they had reached the last of these highwaymen, the tinkler then dismounted, and returned to the market town. In such cases I never heard of Baillie being charged with a breach of faith. It cannot fail to strike with surprise every reader, that at so late a period, and so near the metropolis of Scotland, such a violation of the laws could have been tolerated. From highway robbery Baillie's gang proceeded to murder. The public safety now demanded the speedy and vigorous execution of the law against these thieves and murderers; accordingly the gibbet and banishment freed the county of the greater part of the gang, and the rest fled to avoid a similar fate.

"Baillie's own conduct, however, had been so cautiously regulated that he was never, if I am rightly informed, before a Court of Justice.[1] That his crimes were not the result of ignorance, the following fact will prove:—On one occasion, before the Sacrament at Biggar, he applied to the minister of that parish for admission. His character was notorious throughout the whole country, and consequently was not unknown to that clergyman. He examined most minutely into Baillie's knowledge of the Scriptures, and the nature of that most solemn ordinance. Finding there was no ground of objection on that head, and knowing there was no legal proof of any charge against the applicant, he felt himself bound to comply with his request. Convinced that Baillie had led a most wicked and flagitious life,[2] and feeling a strong aversion to his appearing at the table of the Lord, he stated to him, in the most forcible terms which he could use, the terrible consequences of an unwarrantable approach; then laying the token[3] down on the table before Baillie, he said: 'I place it within your reach, but I do not put it into your hand. If you take it, remember that you do so at your own immediate peril, and as you shall answer for it before the throne of God.' Baillie lifted up the token and went away, but he never made a second application.

"After Baillie's death, his widow, at least for the last years of her life, begged through that country; and when she was unable to walk, the farmers conveyed her from one house to another in a cart. Having come several times in that way, one of them said to her in a jest: 'Mary, are you not dead yet? Are you there fashing [troubling; Fr. *fâcher*] us agen?' To which she replied: 'I houp I'll no die, but live till the end, and be changed.' This shows that she too was not unacquainted with the Scriptures. If her wish was sincere, it proved vain. She died on a cart between Hairlaw and Cadzow. To the humanity of Thomas Aitken, a farmer near the latter village, and a few of his neighbours, the remains of this heroine of the Gypsies were indebted for decent interment. She was buried in the churchyard of Carstairs.

"This is a new trait in the character of the Gypsies, to which I beg leave to call the attention of your readers, in expectation of receiving further information on this point. C. S. D.

"*Carnwath*, 12*th Jan.* 1818."

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[1] The above writer, who was not informed as to the date when Baillie "died," was also not aware that he was eventually hanged at Lanark.—[ED.]

[2] In order to understand the shuffling and inconsistency of this clergyman, it is necessary to understand (what Simson clearly shows in his *History of the Gypsies*) that this man Baillie, and others of his kind, were regarded with the greatest fear by the rural population of southern Scotland, who knew well that to offend or oppose the Gypsies meant future damage to worldly goods, if not actually danger to life.—[ED.]

[3] A pewter badge, or voucher, formerly used in the Church of Scotland, and issued prior to the celebration of each communion to every person entitled, as a member of the Church, and not disqualified by scandalous behaviour, to participate in that sacrament.

Of the above Matthew Baillie, whose forefathers and descendants were well-known Scottish Gypsies, and also of Mary Euston, Yowston, Yorstoun, Yorkston, or Alston, his wife, much additional information is attainable. One of the most interesting facts connected with Baillie is that a brother of his was a direct ancestor of the wife of Thomas Carlyle. Mrs. Carlyle states that "my maternal grandmother was 'descended from a gang of Gipsies—was, in fact, grand-niece to Matthew Baillie, who 'suffered at Lanark,' that s to say, was hanged there.... By the way, my uncle has told me that the wife of that Matthew Baillie, Margaret (*sic*) Euston by name, was the original of Sir W. Scott's Meg Merrilees. Matthew himself was the last of the Gypsies; could steal a horse from under the owner if he liked, but left always the saddle and bridle; a thorough gentleman in his way, and six feet four in stature!" (See Mr. Froude's *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. ii. p. 54; and pp. 103 and 128 of the second volume of Carlyle's *Reminiscences*. Other references to this Baillie and his wife will be found in Simson's *History of the Gipsies*, London, 1865, pp. 196-228; and in *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, Edinburgh and Biggar, 1867, pp. 407-418).

3.

A Northumbrian Tinker.

The following extract may be compared with the paragraph (vol. i. of *Journal*, pp. 309-310), in which reference is made to a family of Elliotts, in Northumberland, who were evidently tinkers:—

"About this period [July 1834] an individual named Thomas Elliott, aged 87, but better known in most parts of Northumberland as Tommy the Tinker, died at Chollerton Edge in that county. He generally resided at Stamfordham, and, in his peregrinations through life, used frequently to walk from Tweedmouth to the latter place, a distance of upwards of sixty miles, in one day. He was very industrious, and is said to have reaped corn regularly every year for seventy-four years."—Richardson's *Local Historian's Table Book*, London, 1844, vol. iv. p. 198.

4.

Gypsies Married by the Queen's Chaplain.

Holy Trinity Church, Windsor, was on Monday the scene of a very interesting wedding, the contracting parties, who were married by licence, being Owen Smith of Reading, and Ellen Lee of Brighton, both Gypsies. The Rev. Arthur Robbins, chaplain to the Queen and the Prince of Wales, officiated, and the ceremonial attracted a number of spectators. The bride's costume was a terra-cotta gown, tied with a broad satin sash, and she wore a wreath of orange blossoms and white tulle veil, and carried a handsome bouquet. The bridesmaids' costumes were similar to that of the bride, with the exception of the head-dresses, which consisted of large straw hats, trimmed with white estrich feathers and ribands. The bridal party went to church in a close carriage, the company following in procession in other vehicles. The wedding breakfast was given at the Queen's Head Inn.—*Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*, August 20, 1890.

All Contributions must be legibly written on one side only of the paper, must bear the sender's name and address, though not necessarily for publication, and must be sent to D. MacRitchie, Esq., 4 Archibald Pl., Edinburgh.

Vol. II. No. 5.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

JANUARY 1891.

Contents.

	PAGE
I. ON THE IRISH ORIGIN AND THE AGE OF SHELTA. By Professor KUNO MEYER,	257
II. A GYPSY PIPER. By ELIZABETH ROBINS PENNELL,	266
III. POLISH GYPSY FOLK-TALES. By Professor ISIDORE KOPERNICKI,	277
IV. STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE GYPSIES IN CARNIOLA. By Professor RUDOLF VON SOWA,	286
V. GYPSY ACROBATS IN ANCIENT AFRICA—(*Continued*). By BU BACCHAR,	288
VI. SCOTTISH GYPSIES UNDER THE STEWARTS—(*Continued*). By DAVID MACRITCHIE,	291
VII. A VOCABULARY OF THE SLOVAK-GYPSY DIALECT. By Professor RUDOLF VON SOWA. *P—Sas*,	307
REVIEWS,	313
NOTES AND QUERIES,	319

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I.—ON THE IRISH ORIGIN AND THE AGE OF SHELTA.

AS a student of Irish, I have read with the greatest interest Mr. John Sampson's paper on "Tinkers and their Talk," which appeared in the October number of this *Journal*. With great ingenuity, Mr. Sampson has succeeded in reading the riddle of Shelta, which had baffled all who approached it before him. He has conclusively proved that the jargon spoken by travelling Irish tinkers, discovered (in 1876) and first described by Mr. C. G. Leland,[1] and commonly known as Shelta, though it should better be called *Sheldhrū*,[2] is a deliberate and systematic modification of Irish Gaelic. My interest in this discovery prompted me, under the kind guidance of Mr. Sampson, to seek the acquaintance of John Barlow, the Ulster tinker, from whom Mr. Sampson had obtained his knowledge of Shelta. There can be no doubt, as Mr. Sampson has shown, that Barlow is a well of Sheldhrū undefiled, having *bog'd* or "learnt" it, as he says, *swūrth nadherum's miskon*, "on his mother's breast." I may mention that he speaks the Ulster dialect of Irish, and frequently gives a word in Irish as well as in Shelta, though he is quite unconscious of any connection between the two, regarding them as separate languages, and being inclined, when questioned, to consider Shelta the older of the

[1] In *The Gypsies*, pp. 354-372. Mr. Leland has recognised that Shelta was of Celtic origin, but was unable to say on which of the Celtic languages it was based.

[2] So says Barlow, and so it is proved by the history of the word. For it stands for old Irish *bélre*, "language, dialect," now *béarla*, *sh* being substituted for *b*, as in *shalawa*, "dumb," Ir. *balbh*, etc.; *d* has developed between *l* and *r*, and *u* is a frequent adjective ending in Shelta. Shelta seems to be the corrupted form used by English tinkers.

two. I should also say that, in linguistic matters at least, Barlow is a model of sincerity. He never makes up words, but only too often, when asked to give a word in Shelta, after a pause of earnest reflection, he will say: "Well, it isn't in my books," or, "No, I won't tell you." Mr. Sampson is now in possession of many hundred Shelta words, besides some short stories and many sayings characteristic of the roving tinker's life. I hope that he will publish these, so that others may have an opportunity to judge how far his own and the following conclusions of mine are borne out by the facts, as well as to solve some of the many problems connected with Shelta and its history.

In this paper, I propose first shortly to recapitulate and substantiate Mr. Sampson's conclusions as to the Irish origin of Shelta, and secondly, to show that Shelta is a secret language of great antiquity, that in Irish MSS. we have mentions and records of it under various names, and that, though now confined to tinkers, its knowledge was once possessed by Irish poets and scholars, who, probably, were its original framers.

The vocabulary of Shelta, as spoken by Barlow, consists of Irish words disguised in various ways, some of which will be explained below. Its grammar (*i.e.* the few inflections used, most of the particles, the order of words) is a mixture of Irish and English. A few examples will suffice to show this. Sometimes the so-called Saxon genitive is used, as in *kūnya's tharal*,[1] "the priest's language" (viz. Latin), sometimes the Irish construction, *e.g. kam a' kena*, "the son of the house." "Gone" is *ar mislo* in Shelta, lit. "after going," Ir. *ar siubhladh*. Verbal nouns are often formed by Ir. *-al*, as *tharal*, "speaking." Abstract nouns end in *-ath*, Ir. *-acht*, as *gamiath*, "badness," from *gami*, *mŭniath* "goodness," from *mŭni*. The noun of the agent is formed by the ending *-era*, Ir. *-aire*, as *gyukera*, "beggar," *stchŭmera*, "piper," Ir. *píobaire*. Some adjectives end in *-ūl*, Ir. *-amhail*, as *lashūl*, "nice, pretty," for *deasamhail*. The adjective attribute generally follows the noun, as in Irish, *e.g.*, *fē gāth*, "veal," lit. "young meat," Ir. *feoil óg*; *grīnlesk mŭni*, "ferns," lit. "good flax," *i.e.* the good people's or fairies' flax.

In the following sentences, Irish or English elements are printed in italics. Thanyŭk *agam*, *maro* thanyŭk *eile*, bŭga *mo* chal-slŭnya. "I have a halfpenny; if I had another, I would give myself half a

[1] I have adopted Mr. Sampson's phonetic spelling, with some slight variations. It should be stated that *th* and *dh* are not meant for *th* in English *think* and *that*, but for the aspirated sounds of *t* and *d*, familiar to most from Irish brogue.

glass."—*In* stchümera *hū*? "Are you a piper?"—*Noχ* mīdher mūilsha? "Am I not a devil?"—Grē *and* misli! Stesh nedhas *a* mīdhril. "Rise and be off! This is a devil's place."—Mwik blōrs nijesh nyēfn. "Connaught women have no shame."—Nŭrth *they* misli'*d* thara*in'* stafari*s*. "Now they went on saying prayers."

As for the vocabulary, we can clearly distinguish the following processes, by which Shelta words were fabricated from Irish ones:—

(1.) Spelling the Irish word backwards, *e.g.* *kam*, "son," for *mac*; *nawp*, "white," *bán*; *gawp*, "kiss," *póc* (borrowed from Latin *pācem*); *awd*, "two," *dá*; *rīk*, "comb," *cír*; *karb*, "an old woman, grandmother" *brac* (more commonly *frac*); *chal* (*i.e.* *theal*), "half," *leath*; *grē*, "to rise," *érg*; *bog*, "to find, get" *gab*, now *gabh*.

Sometimes, to the word thus obtained, a suffix is added: *thal-osk* "day," *latha*; *thŭrp-og*, "rag," *brat*. Or the final is changed, as in *nūp*, "urine," f. Ir. *mún*; *nŭp* "neck," f. Ir. *muin*.

(2.) Prefixing an arbitrary letter or letters, *e.g.* *g-ather*, "father," f. *athair*; *s-lūn*, "Monday," f. *lúan*; *gr-imsher*, "season, weather," f. *aimser*; *gr-asol*, "ass," f. *asal*; *grani*, "to understand," f. *aithnim*.

Sometimes a suffix is added: *s-rīg-o*, "king," f. *ríg* (now *ríogh*); *gr-ūl-a*, "apple," f. *ubhal*.[1]

(3.) Substituting another letter or letters for the initial, *e.g.* *slŭnya*, "glass," f. *gloine*; *granko*, "turkey," f. *francach*; *Grasano*, "Scotch," f. *sasanach*;[2] *graura*, "summer," f. *samhradh*; *grarro*, "foal," f. *searrach*; *grānya*, "ring," f. *fáinne*; *grenog*, "window," f. *fuinneog*; *griwog*, "fairy," f. *siabhróg*; *shako*, "to sin," f. *peacadh*; *shalawa*, "dumb," f. *balbh*; *sheldhrū*, f. *bélre* (now *béarla*); *sroijin*, "morning," f. *maidin*; *cherpa*, "to boil, cook," f. *bearbadh*; *charp*, "true," f. *dearb*; *sharrog*, "red," f. *dearg*; *Jumnik*, "Sunday," f. *Domnach*. With suffixes: *shūka*, "five," f. *cúic*.

(4.) Transposition of letters: *aχáram*, "to-morrow," f. *amárach*; *mŭgathon*, "fool," f. *amadán*.

These are some of the processes observed in the fabrication of Shelta words. But there are other changes of Irish words less clear, though a connection with Irish is always apparent, and there are also a large number of words which Mr. Sampson and I, at least, are as yet unable to trace to any Irish etymon. I will mention some of

[1] In these suffixes we may note the observance of the Irish rule *caol le caol, leathan le leathan*. When the final consonant stands for a "slender" one in the Irish word, *e* is suffixed (as in *mŭlya*, "hand," for Ir. *lám*, gen. *láime*); when it is "broad," the suffix is *a* or *o* (as in *līma*, "louse," mod. Ir. *míol*).

[2] From the Lowland Scotch settlers in Ulster. *Sasanach* is used commonly for "Protestant" in Ulster.

either kind. *Stofrik*, "Patrick"; *stafa*, "long," Ir. *fada*; *stafri*, "prayer," Ir. *paidir*; *getul*, "afraid," Ir. *eagal*; *liba*, "blood," Ir. *fuil*; *get*, "hot," Ir. *teith*; *skai*, "water," Ir. *uisce*; *skai hopa*, "whisky," Ir. *uisge beatha*; *skaihan*, "sailor"; *laskon*, "salt," Ir. *salann*; *skēv*, "fish," Ir. *iasc*; *sinaul*, "beer," Ir. *leann*; *klisp*, "break," Ir. *bris*; *losp*, "marry," Ir. *pós*; *lasp*, "taste," Ir. *blas*; *skraχo*, "tree, bush," Ir. *crann*; *Kerribadh*, "Margaret"; *kerribu*, "market," Ir. *margadh*; *gūth*, "black," Ir. *dub*; *gāth*, "young," Ir. *óg*; *grāth*, "gold," Ir. *ór*.

The following are examples of words wholly obscure to me:—*Mwikamo*, "Connaught"; *mwik*, adj. "west, of Connaught"; *gloχ*, "man"; *limska*, "name"; *kūnya*, "priest"; *klitug*, "sheep"; *glutug*, "wool"; *nīp*, "yellow" (formed on *nawp*, "white," with the vowel of Ir. *buidhe* ?); *napr*, "spade"; *muthi*, "stocking"; *munkera*, "country"; *myiskon*, "woman's breast"; *nūs*, "blessing"; *nyāk*, "rogue."

I would scarcely have taken much interest in Shelta, if it were nothing but tinkers' cant, fabricated from Irish in modern times, of a kind not superior to the back-slang of costers and cabmen. It was the fact of there being evidence to the great antiquity of Shelta that made me anxious to know more about it.

Mr. Sampson has already noticed that many Shelta words are evidently not framed on the modern Irish word, but on its old Irish form. Thus Sh. *des* (pron. *dyesh*) "yes," is the old Irish *'sed*, "it is," spelt backward, which in mod. Irish has become *seadh*, pr. *sha*; *chima*, "stick," was formed from old Ir. *maite*, not from mod. *maide*, which would have made *djima*; *grē*, "rise," is from old Ir. *érg*, not from mod. *éirgh*; *thōber*, *gather*, *thalosk*, *chal* (i.e. *theal*), *tharpon*, "porridge," were formed at a time when *th* in *bóthar*, *athair*, *latha*, *leth*, *broth*, was yet pronounced $=t+h$, not, as now, $=h$; *mālya*, "hand," *Jumnik*, "Sunday," were formed when *m* in *lám* and *domnach* had not yet become *v* and *w* respectively, as in mod. Ir. *lámh* and *domhnach*. This carries us back to a period of the Irish language, the exact limits of which have not yet been defined, but which was certainly anterior to the eleventh century.

Another testimony to the antiquity of Shelta is the fact that it has preserved words which have long since died out in Irish, *e.g.* *karb*, "an old woman, grandmother," from Ir. *brac* or *frac*, cognate with Welsh *gwrag*, a word found in the early Irish sagas, but no longer used.

While, then, it is clear, I think, that Shelta was invented at an early period of the Irish language, it must have undergone hand in hand with Irish those well-known phonetic changes which distinguish

the modern language from the older. Old Ir. *balb*, "dumb," was made into *shalb* or *shalba* in ancient Shelta, and is now pronounced *shalawa*, Ir. *balbh*. *Livin*, "mill," from Ir. *muilenn*, is another instance of "aspiration" afterwards introduced. Or some words may have been invented at an early, others at a later, period of Irish. That the creative spirit of Shelta is still alive is proved by the fact that Barlow gave us the Shelta for such modern inventions as "railway."

But there is other direct evidence to the age of Shelta which will appeal more strongly to those not familiar with the laws of Irish sound-change.

We have very early testimony in Irish literature to the manufacture of a jargon by the very methods described above. Dr. Whitley Stokes, in the second edition of his *Goidelica*, p. 72, after describing the processes by which some obscure words in an old glossary—about which more anon—were formed from Irish words, says:—

"The manufacture of such jargon is recognised not only in the preface to the *Amra Choluimchille*, preserved in the *Lebor na huidre*, a MS. of the beginning of the twelfth century, but also in the *Auraicept na n-éces* [Instruction of the Poets], copies of which are found in the books of Lecain and Ballimote. Dr Ferguson, moreover, has detected on Ogham inscriptions examples of the practice of disguising words by the introduction of arbitrary ingredients. Each of the processes of fabrication has a name.

"*Formolad* denoted the addition of a syllable, *e.g. culu*, *feron*, *benon*, from *cul*, 'chariot'; *fer*, 'man'; *ben*, 'woman.'

"*Deichned* was the addition of a letter only, *e.g. tenn*, from *ten*, 'fire'; *ferr* from *fer*.

"When the final was dropt, *e.g. fe* from *fer*, the process was *Dichned*.

"When a word was spelt backwards, *e.g. ref* from *fer*, *neb* from *ben*, the process was termed *Delidind*.

"*Cennfocrus túis* was the change of a word's initial—*Cennfocrus déid* the change of a final.

"The *Connail* of *fer* is *fefrier*, that of *ben* is *befrien*, that of *nem*, 'heaven,' is *nefriem*.

"The *Mallrugud* of *fer* is *feer*; of *ben*, *been*; of *nem*, *neem*."

From the examples given by the commentator of the *Amra Choluimcille*, it appears that some at least of these practices were actually employed by Irish *filid* or poets.

The commentary says they did so either to disguise a word (*fortched*, lit. "covering up," or *duaichnigud*, "making it hard to recognise"), or for the purpose of filling up their lines (*línad na*

filidechta). From the quatrains quoted it seems that letters were added to the common Irish word (*focul gnáthach*) in order to obtain the full number of syllables required by the metre, or that letters were either omitted or added to obtain a rhyme. One example must suffice.

Dál rodálus (mór in baes)	I have made a tryste (great the folly !)
isind árus húas Druim Lías.	In the dwelling on Druim Lias,
Am-mo chomdiu, a rí rú rá,	O my Lord ! O King of glorious mysteries,
imbí biú bá bés ni thías.	While I am alive, 'tis certain I shall not go.

Here *a ri rú rá* stands for *a ri rún rán*, the *n* being evidently left out to get a full rhyme with *bí biú bá* in the fourth line.

How far poetical licence extended in such arbitrary violation of the language I cannot at present say. The fact remains that in a MS. dating from the end of the eleventh century the practice of the arbitrary disguising and altering of words in ways identical with those observed in Shelta is recognised, and ascribed to the *filid* or poets.

I will now mention a second still more remarkable testimony to the age and use of Shelta.

The remarks from Stokes's *Goidelica*, quoted above, occur in the introduction to an edition of a curious glossary of 291 obscure words and their Irish equivalents. This glossary was written in 1643 by the celebrated Irish antiquary Dudley MacFirbis. "But," says Stokes, "that MacFirbis was the copyist, not the compiler, of the glossary, and that it was originally produced some centuries before his time, is plain enough from the old and early middle Irish forms *occumm, ocut, adrubuirt, innsi*." This glossary bears the title *Dúil Laithne*, which Stokes renders by *Liber Latiniensis*. But the Ir. *laiden*, f., gen. *laidne* or *laithne* (a loan from Lat. *Latina*), seems here to have the meaning of "dialect, idiom, jargon." It is remarkable that one of the English names under which Shelta is known is *Boglatin*. Cf. the German use of *Latein* as "jargon, cant," *e.g. Jägerlatein*, "hunters' cant"; also old Engl. *læden*, f., later *leden*, "language."

Professor Thurneysen, of Freiburg, in an article entitled *Du Langage secret dit Ogham* (*Revue Celtique*, vii. pp. 369-375), has shown that a large number of the obscure words of *Dúil Laithne* are fabricated from Irish words in the following way. One or two letters of an Irish word are replaced by the name which these letters bear in the Irish alphabet called *Beithe-luis-nion*. Thus the Irish word *dúnad*, "a fort," becomes *dur-únad*, *daur*, the name of the letter *d* being

substituted for the initial *d* of the word. Irish *corn*, "a horn," becomes *cul-orn*, *coll* being the name of the letter *c*, etc.

The jargon thus created was anciently called *Ogham*, as we know from a passage in O'Molloy's Irish Grammar, written in 1677, who says, p. 133:—"Obscurum loquendi modum, vulgo *Ogham*, antiquariis Hibernicis satis notum, quo nimirum loquebantur syllabizando voculas appellationibus litterarum, dipthongorum, et tripthongorum ipsis dumtaxat notis." That this secret language was actually spoken about 1300 we know from the following obituary notice in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, quoted by O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters*, iii. p. 537, note *p*:—A.D. 1328. "Morishe O'Gibelan, master of art, one exceeding well learned in the old and new laws, civille and canon, a cunning and skillful philosopher, an excellent poet in Irish, *an elegant and exact speaker of the speech which in Irish is called Ogham*, and, in some [sum], one that was well seen in many other good sciences. He was a canon and singer at Twayme [Tuam], Olfyn [Elphin], Aghaconry [Achonry], Killalye [Killala], Enaghe Down [Annadown], and Clonfert."

Now, a number of Shelta words, that cannot be explained by any of the processes described above, are formed on this principle of *Ogham*, and, what is more, some of them are identical with words of the *Dúil Laithne* list. In comparing them, we must bear in mind that we have on the one hand words fixed in writing many centuries ago, on the other, the phonetic rendering of the modern word.

Sh. *olomi*, "night," is the *almaig* of the *Dúil Laithne* (287), which is glossed by *adaigh*. *Almaig* would now be spelt *almaigh*, pronounced *olomi*.

Sh. *mŭni*, "good," is *manăith*, D.L. 137, which is glossed by *maith*, and which would now be pronounced *mŭni*.

Sh. *clima*, "milk," is to be compared with *ailmis*, D.L. 90, glossed by *as*.

Sh. *lush*, "eat," is to be compared with *loisiom*, D.L. 194, glossed by *etham*, "let us eat."

Sh. *goχele*, "lad," is *geitheille*, D.L. 64, glossed by *giolla*.

Sh. *shelkar*, "sister," is like *salur* .i. *siur*, D.L. 216.

Sh. *thori*, "come," is to be compared with *toiriadai*, glossed *do dheachaidh*, D.L. 193.

Sh. *gorri*, "give," resembles *goirtnide* .i. *tabair*, D.L. 271.

Sh. *kŭnya*, "dung," is like *caithen*, D.L. 27, glossed by *cac*.

The insertion of *osc* after *l* in *loscan* .i. *lán*, "full," D.L. 152, and *loscog* .i. *log*, D.L. 237, is found in Shelta *thalosk*, "day," from Ir. *latha*.

Besides, there are several words in D.L. formed on yet other principles, and some of these again answer to Shelta words.

> "I" is *mūilsha* in Shelta. The word glossed by *misi* in *Dúil Laithne* (269) seems hard to read. Stokes prints *motñllsi.* Perhaps we should read *mothuilsi.* This would corroborate Mr. Sampson's conjecture that *mūilsha* is simply Irish *mo thoil-sea,* lit. "my pleasure." *Sceb,* D.L. 285, is glossed by *sgél,* "tale." In Shelta, *sheb* means "to *call*."

It would seem, then, that "the speech which in Irish is called Ogham," and MacFirbis' "Laiden," are both the same as Shelta. But there seems to have been yet another name by which it was known. In the ancient grammatical treatise called *Auraicept na n-éces,* or "Instruction of the Poets," five distinct *bélarla,* or dialects, of Gaelic are enumerated. Fénius Farsaid, a mythical personage, is fabled to have formed them, at the request of his pupils, from all the existing languages of the world. As the *Auraicept* has not yet been published, I have to quote from the British Museum MS. Egerton, 88, which contains an old, though rather corrupt, copy of the text. We read on fol. 64 b, 1:—"Is and conait*cetar* cusin sai .i. co Fen*ius* berla na b*eth* ag nech aile do teip*ed* doibh asna hilperl*aib,* acht com*ad* acc*u* a n-aonur no b*eth.* Conid airi sin aricht doib in berla tob*idi* [leg. tebide] cona fortorm[aig]aibh .i. berla feine cona fortormoigiph [fortormtoigiph MS.], ocus iarmberla, ocus berla hetarsgarda iter na fedaib airecdaib [leg. airedaib] am*ail* doruirmisim isin Duile Fedha Máir (*i.e.* nomen lipri), ocus berla na bfil*ed* asa n-aiccill*ed* cach dibh a ceile, ocus in gnathberla fogni do chach iter fiora ocus mna." "Then they (his pupils) asked Fenius the sage to extract[1] for them out of the many languages a language such as none else had, but which they alone should possess. And therefore the 'extracted language' was invented for them, with its augmentations, viz. *bérla Féini* with its augmentations, and *iarmbérla,* and the language that is interspersed between the various letters of the (Ogham) alphabet, as we have put it in the Great Book of Letters, and the language of the poets, by which each of them would address the other, and the common language, which serves every one, both men and women." Further down on the same page, these five dialects are once more clearly distinguished, as follows:—"Perla feine tra arricht so sunt, ocus iarmberla, ocus berla n-etarsgarda iter na fedhaiph airedhuibh in

[1] For this meaning of *teibed,* cf. O'Clery: *teibeudh .i. buain no tarraing.* The old verbal noun *tepe* occurs *Alex.* 969. LL. 61a, 18.

og*uim*, ocus berla na bfil*ed* in cethram*ad*, ocus in gnathberla fogui do chach in cuicc*ed*."

This ancient account of the origin of Irish seems to be the only source of all the confused and absurd statements and theories[1] about the various forms of Irish speech here enumerated. *Béarla Féini* is simply ancient or archaic Irish, *iarmbéarla* I cannot explain,[2] but *béarla eadarsgartha*, the language "interspersed between the letters of the Ogham alphabet," is, I think, clearly another designation for the Ogham language. Perhaps, when one day the *Auraicept* and other old grammatical tracts are edited, we shall be in a position to speak with greater certainty. I have no doubt that valuable material bearing on this question will yet be found in Irish MSS.

Lastly, I must mention an Irish idiom, which from some statements might seem to have some connection with Shelta, but which must be regarded as quite distinct from it. There is, or was, spoken within the memory of men now living, a Gaelic idiom in Ireland, called *béarla eagair* or *béarla eagair na saor*,[3] "an artificial or technical cant, jargon or gibberish, used by masons and pedlars, beggars, etc.," says Peter O'Connell, in his MS. dictionary (Brit. Mus., Egerton, 84). But judging from the few words of this idiom given by MacElligott in the *Transactions* of the Gaelic Society of Dublin, pp. 11 and 12, such as *be*, "woman," *bochna*, "sea," *dearc*, "eye," all genuine old Irish words, this speech seems by no means a mere artificial cant or jargon, like Shelta. O'Donovan, in the supplement to O'Reilly's dictionary, gives the word *fonsura*, "chisel," as belonging to *béarla eagair*, and shows by a quotation from the Four Masters that this word likewise is a genuine old word. It would be of great interest, and might be of considerable value, if this idiom, supposing it still to be in existence, were written down by some Irish scholar before it wholly disappears.

Here I must leave the subject for the present. I have not been able to touch upon several interesting questions bound up with the

[1] Some of these are quoted by O'Donovan in the introduction to his *Irish Grammar*, pp. lxxi-lxxiii. There is not the slightest reason for explaining *béarla teibidhe* as the "language of physicians," as Vallancey and others have done, or as "the dialect of abstraction, concretion, and termination" (whatever that may mean), as did Peter O'Connell; or for calling *béarla eadarscartha* "the style of glossographers," etc. O'Reilly has gone so far as to coin a word *teibe*, physician, plur. *teibidh*! All this, as so many other statements about Irish things often quoted and fondly believed by many, is merely *aus der Luft gegriffen*. In the following passage from *Leabhar Breac*, p. 230a, 46, *belra thebide* is used simply = Irish: "Ro nuall o guth mór co hsu tresin m-berla n-ebraide, ocus atbert and: Crecham, etc. A thinntod sin tra ocus a chiall isin *belra thebide* .i. A mu Dé, is tu dorigne neam," etc.

[2] According to O'Donovan (*Irish Grammar*, p. 414), *iarmbearla* denotes the article, possessive pronoun, adverb, proposition, or conjunction.

[3] Badly, though commonly, spelt *bearlagar* or *bearla agar*.

history of Shelta, not having sufficient materials to proceed upon; such as, how Shelta became the exclusive possession of the *cairds*, and what is the history of the tinker clans, a list of whose names Mr. Sampson obtained from Barlow. One of these names, that of the Creenies of Connaught, will give rise to curious speculations. Mr. David MacRitchie[1] has identified this name as well as that of the Kreenies of Wigtownshire, with the Gaelic name of the Picts, *Cruithni* or *Cruithnigh*, and drawn attention to the fact that the Gypsies call the Irish tinkers *Crink=Cruithneach.* We know that in ancient times *Túatha Cruithnech*, or Pictish tribes were settled in Connaught. Stokes (*Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals*, p. 26, n. 4) mentions two, one in Mag Ai, a plain between Roscommon and Elphin, the other in Mag Luirg, now Moylurg. In the Irish version of Nennius (ed. Todd, p. 124) we find an eponymous *Cruithne* mentioned as the *ceard* of the Picts.

I believe enough has been said to show that this jargon of Shelta, if we consider its antiquity and the problems involved in its history, must be granted a place in Irish research. Nor can English philology apparently quite ignore it. For, as Mr. Sampson has shown on pp. 216, 217, Shelta words have at various periods passed into English slang, and hence into colloquial, and, to the despair of etymologists, even into literary English. To those, however, who would still persist in looking upon Shelta as unworthy of serious study, I would repeat the words of Mephistopheles :—

> "Bist du beschränkt, dass neues Wort dich stört?
> Willst du nur hören, was du schon gehört?
> Dich störe nichts, wie es auch weiter klinge,
> Schon längst gewohnt der wunderbarsten Dinge."

KUNO MEYER.

II.—A GYPSY PIPER.

WHEN, early in the century, a certain Mr. James Thompson, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, wrote the life of James Allan, the Northumberland piper, he gave as his reason the deep significance of his subject to philosopher and antiquary, to musician and moralist. In those days it would have been more honest to appeal solely to the then, as even yet, prevailing love of adventure. For if Allan's deeds were thought worth recording, when better and worthier men were

[1] In the October number of this *Journal*, p. 221.

allowed to be forgotten, it was not because he came of a race the study of whose origin and history is of genuine interest, but because he was one of the most unprincipled and daring vagabonds who ever wandered on the roads of England. Now, however, if his fame survive, it is chiefly owing to his Gypsy blood; and his rascally and illiterate appearance in these scholarly pages needs, I hope, no apology. Gypsy lore includes not merely the general records of the Romany, but his particular biography as well, not merely the language of the race, its legends and myths, but the deeds of its most conspicuous heroes and heroines. As Mr. Borrow wrote in his *Lavo Lil*, the *Romany chi* is oftener remarkable than the *Romany chal*; the heroes have been fewer than the heroines; therefore, is it not right that to these few exceptions due honour should be done?

Of Romany heroes none—not even the Duke Michael or the Gitano Conde—was greater in his way than Allan. Kings who have reigned in Kirk Yetholm or established their throne in the far west of America, have had but local notoriety. Piper Allan's fame was spread far and wide throughout Great Britain; it reached Irish and French shores; it was carried, tradition assures us, even to the wilds of China and Tartary. The great Boswells or Stanleys or Coopers have figured only in the books of the *Romany Rye*, read, the Gypsy Lore Society knows full well, but by a small saving remnant: Allan, like Dick Turpin, like Jack Sheppard, stalked, for the edification of thousands, through many a chap-book—sure proof of popularity. One of these is the delightful little *History of James Allan, the Celebrated Northumberland Piper*, published at Newcastle, with Allan on the title-page, arrayed, out of compliment to his pipes, in the full Highland costume, which he never wore. This edition is in the British Museum, where I have also seen another published in that same town by William Walker, but giving, instead of the picture of Allan, a cut of a taproom, which seems to have had no special reference to his convivial habits, as it also figures on the *Witty and Entertaining Exploits of George Buchanan*, and *Mary the Maid of the Inn*, thrilling tales in the same series. Still a third edition comes from Glasgow, and here on the title-page Allan, again resplendent in kilt and tartan, is sitting on a bench, playing at his ease. All three copies are cheerfully indifferent to dates of publication. As if this were not glory enough for any poor and not over-respectable Gypsy, a long and eminently careful and serious biography, as far removed from the mere chap-book as are the volumes of a modern "Adventure" series, was printed by W. Guthrie of Blyth in 1817, but the name of the author

does not appear. It is at the British Museum, but in a very imperfect form and without the portrait of Allan, which, I am informed, is in the copy at the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Nor is this all: eleven years later, in 1828, there was published in Newcastle, an even longer and more detailed life by Mr. James Thompson, to whom I have already referred, and whose literary fame, as far as I can discover, rests, like Boswell's, upon his one biography of a great man. When I add that this book contains over 400 pages and is illustrated by Cruikshank, I think I have brought forward sufficient evidence to show that James Allan was a Gypsy of no small renown even among Gorgios.

Whether the longer biographies were founded upon the chap-books, or whether the former were written first, it would be difficult to say. In main outlines all agree. Probably details are often grossly exaggerated and vulgarised, and one has one's doubts whether the principal events of the Blyth biography were really, as it announces, taken from Allan's own mouth, or whether James Thompson had any additional authority for his version and the new anecdotes of which he boasts. But certainly there can be no mistake about the character and way of life of the famous piper, of whom I can give but the briefest sketch.

James Allan was born in 1734, as becomes a good Gypsy, under canvas, in Rothbury Forest, in Northumberland. His Gypsy blood has been questioned, but, for my part, I must believe him to have been a *tacho* Romany. Who but a Gypsy could have lived his life, could have done his deeds? His biographers do not agree about his birthplace, but as in this respect the truth can never be known, it is at least pleasant, as it certainly is in keeping, to suppose that he was born *Romanly* in a tent. The chief talents of his father, William Allan, familiarly known as "Old Wull," were for loafing, fishing, and playing the bagpipe. Like a good *Romany chal*, he had an enviable prejudice against work and an honest love for travelling. His talents and prejudices, strong, but not yet marked enough to ensure his immortality, were all that his son inherited from him; for the younger Allan, however, they won fortune that fluctuated, and fame that has endured to our time.

Stealing and bagpipe-playing were the chief accomplishments of the youthful Jamie, in this case the boy being truly father of the man. In both he quickly attained such marvellous proficiency that, as caterer and musician, he was in great demand in Gypsy camps during all seasons of festivity.

His skill as a piper gives him, rogue and cheat as he was, a certain distinction. The chap-books represent him as a mere common highwayman or thief. The adventures, which it took Mr. Thompson over 400 pages to tell, would not be worth repeating here even were there the necessary space. He may have seen many lands and many peoples, but there was little variety in the nature of the incidents that crowded his days. Fond of amusement, unwilling to work, his chief aim in life was to gain the means to live without paying the lawful price at the sweat of his brow. Wine and women, often in their most brutal and degrading forms, were his chief diversions. But just when he seems to have reached the lowest level of vice and dishonour, we hear the sweet sound of his pipes; just when we think he has fallen beyond redemption into the vulgarest prose of debauchery, he suddenly rises into the true poetry of romance, as it were, with that wild "Hurrah" of the Gypsy who is "free wherever he goes"!

Allan could have found employment both paying and regular. His pipes opened every door to him. He was still but a lad when the Countess of Northumberland sent for him to come to Alnwick Castle, so great already was his reputation. Allan played before her, and at once was appointed her own special piper. The crescent on his right arm in his portrait is the Percy badge, which his position qualified him to wear. This portrait, which is the one prefixed to the Blyth (1817) edition of his *Life*, and is obviously the only authentic one, is reproduced on the following page.

At the Castle he might probably have spent the rest of his days, well fed, well dressed, well to do. The two years he remained there he was made much of by the Countess and his fellow-domestics alike. There was every inducement for him to become a respectable member of society, and so spare future biographers their task. But at the end of two years of exemplary life, he left the Castle. A pretty story is told of the love borne for him by a young housemaid, of his indifference and generous desire not to trifle with her feelings. But this was not Allan's way where women were concerned. The gratification of his own passion was far sweeter to him than the virtue of maid or matron. The story is hardly plausible. To me it seems far more likely that Allan tired of servitude, however nominal; that the badge of the Percy, light though it might really be, weighed heavily upon his arm and spirits. He, Gypsy-like, longed for his freedom; and when the longing grew too strong within him, he quietly arose and, with his pipes, went his way over the heather,

where life was rough and hard at times, and ways at the best were dark, but where he was his own master.

There is another pleasing tradition that when he left the Castle it was with the firm determination to improve his mind—to get an education. He had begun to feel his ignorance, which at first had not troubled him because he had found that his father, illiterate as

he, was still the most entertaining man he knew. But unfortunately the schoolmaster whom he had in view for himself was ill at this juncture, and he fell instead under the tuition of a maid at the Rothbury inn, and marriage was the only school—a bitter one it proved—he entered. This girl, the first of a long series of wives and mistresses, was no better than she should have been, quarrelling and fighting at home, drinking as deep as her husband, and, finally, taking to herself for lover a dwarf, a shockingly misshapen, both morally and physically, specimen of humanity. To her James Allan's chief biographers amiably shift all responsibility for his evil

deeds, though the truth is, he knew something of drinking, gambling, and stealing long before he had worn the Percy badge. However, it is recorded that when affairs at home came to a climax that made life there impossible, and he returned to Alnwick Castle, instead of playing for the Countess as in other days, he drank at the public-house, and this time it was not altogether his own free choice that sent him upon the roads again.

It was at this period that he is supposed to have first enlisted, an important event, as it went far to shape his subsequent career. Without money, and probably half drunk, he consented to become regimental piper in the Northumberland Militia. But if his duties at the Castle had been irksome, military discipline was unbearable, and Allan deserted, fled to Newcastle, and then home to Rothbury, where "Old Wull," protesting that no man with spirit, and legs to desert, would think of remaining in the militia, successfully ordered his escape just when he was on the point of being captured.

To Jamie, the whole thing seemed very simple, so simple indeed, that when he next needed money he enlisted again—and deserted again. And as his finances were chronically at a low ebb, when there was nothing handy to steal, he took to enlisting, soldiers in those days being greatly in demand, and as soon as his bounty-money was secured, he would escape to spend it in more agreeable haunts than the barracks or the camp. Now the Gypsy, as is well known, looks upon the Gorgio as his lawful prey. To cheat him is most praiseworthy. Allan was but practising a virtue of his people by adopting the profession of deserter to his own great benefit. It would not be easy to count the number of times he enlisted in His Majesty's Service, where he was always welcomed, for he had a fine figure as well as a handsome face, and where he always received his bounty-money at once, for he had the Gypsy tongue and could *pen a huckaben* with the bravest in the land :—a father in need, debts to pay, he was never at a loss. But there was one little difficulty. It was a simple matter to enlist and, for a man of Allan's resources, to desert. But, if captured after desertion, the penalty was not trifling. And so it came about that he travelled further and faster than any *Romany chal* on the roads, and had more adventures by the way. For all this, the events of his travels can be briefly summed up: enlistment; desertion; flight; riotous spending of his prize, either with a few boon companions or a new wife; probable flight from the latter; stealing by the way, just to keep his hand in; and occasional intervals of respectability, and even of fashion, when he lived by his pipes.

Jamie's adventurous career was greatly influenced by women. It would take too long simply to enumerate all his amorous intrigues. Of his six wives, three were his peers in vice and debauchery. Of one, Mary, a marvellous, but not credible, tale is told: the old-fashioned romance of the child of noble parents stolen in revenge by the wronged Gypsy. However many of these gallant intrigues may be pure inventions, it is still quite clear that he was a very Don Juan of low degree, though I cannot believe that so many of his victims were Gypsies as records say. The virtue of the *Romany chal* may not be unimpeachable, but it is another matter with the *Romany chi*: she has curious ideas of honour and honesty, as the *Romany Rye* learnt from Ursula that afternoon when they sat together under the hedge; but she is, as a rule, chaste before, and loyal to her husband after, marriage.

Many particulars of Allan's foreign travels have been preserved or invented—it is hard to say which. They are declared to be the consequences of an unsuccessful flight from creditors once when he had been playing the gentleman in Dublin, whither he had fled (of course) from sergeants and an indignant woman. Thrust into gaol, so the story goes, he was released only on condition that he would enlist in the East India Company's Service: this he was the more willing to do, as enlisting to him always meant deserting at the earliest opportunity. But this time he was watched too closely, and was carried off to lands which, it may be safely said, an English Gypsy would never have visited of his own free will. His pipes again proved his best friend, for they promoted him to the position of gentleman's servant, so that it was in comparative comfort he journeyed to St. Helena, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, passed the island of Madagascar, and so on to India, Java, and China, where, in one of the seaport towns, his master died. Immediately Jamie made good his escape from his ship and servitude, and, as coolly as if he were home in England, wandered, Gypsy fashion, to Calcutta, Delhi, Samarcand, across the desert to Orenburg, Moscow, St. Petersburg, thence into Belgium, where, taking up his old profession, he enlisted, first in the French army, promptly deserted, and enlisted in the English, but, before he could manage to again desert, actually fought at the battle of Minden, and went back with his regiment to England. His ship had barely gone into port when he was off on his beloved roads.

For the truth of this, who will vouch? But the circumstances which are supposed to have started him on his unwilling journey are

all highly characteristic, and the whole story, whether founded on fact or fiction, at least shows what manner of man he was thought to be. It is also interesting to find that his Romany is reported to have helped him in India to understand the native Hindustani. This statement would be of greater value did we know upon whose authority it rests.

Allan was but twenty-four or five on his return, but from then until his final imprisonment, when he was an old man of seventy, there was no change in his manner of life. He kept on enlisting and deserting, with hairbreadth escapes worthy of a Dick Turpin description, until one fine day, in a skirmish with his pursuers, his wrist was wounded. He surrendered then at once, all heart for further struggles gone out of him. "Ye hae spoiled the best pipe hand in England," he said sadly, and allowed himself to be carried off to prison without a word. But he had good friends, a proof that he was not so black as he was painted, and they secured his discharge. His wound, having been properly and promptly attended to, was healed, and he was soon playing his pipes as gaily as ever. But after this, there was no more enlisting for him.

It was for this reason probably that he devoted himself more exclusively than ever to still less reputable methods of stealing. He was an expert in wholesale robbery and petty larceny alike. For a while he prospered as highwayman. I am afraid poor Jamie only grew worse with years. According to his biographers, he seemed to steal not so much from want as to keep him in good practice. Through it all he retained friends who were always ready to help him out of difficulties. But at last, in his hale and hearty old age, his career was brought to an end. He had fallen into the Gypsy habit of borrowing a horse, when he needed one, from a Gorgio. At first he effected these forced loans at a safe distance from home. But by degrees he became unable to resist the opportunities for borrowing that offered themselves in his immediate neighbourhood. Once or twice, with his usual luck, he got off. But he borrowed just once too often. In 1803, at the Durham Assizes, he was convicted of horse-stealing, and condemned to death. But afterwards he was reprieved, and sentenced to transportation for life, and then, on account of his great age, this was mitigated to perpetual imprisonment.

On the 13th of November 1810 (1806, according to a writer in *Blackwood's*, September 1817) he died in the house of correction, to which he had a few months before been removed for purer air. He was buried in the burial-ground of St. Nicholas' parish. Shortly

before his death a free pardon had been granted him by the Prince Regent, but, by some neglect, it did not reach Durham until too late. This document, it is said, is the first George IV., when Prince Regent, officially signed.

Throughout life James Allan exerted a strange fascination even over those who knew his blackguardism best: to-day he can still fascinate readers of his life. Nor is this difficult to understand. There was, it cannot be denied, even by as sincere an admirer as I, one very black shadow on his fair character. I do not mind his treatment of the Gorgio, shocking as it seems, judged by the mere Philistine code of honour. In this, he did but show himself a past-master in the arts for which his race is famous. He was a trifle cleverer than the old *Dye*, who plays her *hukni* game; than the *Romany chal*, who *drabs the bawlor*—that was all. But he cheated not only the Gorgio, he levied his tax even on his own Gipsy wives and brothers, as an accumulation of evidence too clearly proves. Even Borrow is a witness against him. "Did you ever see Piper Allan," he asked Esther Faa Blyth at Yetholm; "he was a great friend of your grandfather's?" "I never saw him," she replied, "but I have often heard of him. He married one of our people." "He did so," said I, "and the marriage feast was held on the Green just behind us. He got a good, clever wife, and she got a bad, rascally husband. One night, after taking an affectionate farewell of her, he left her on an expedition with plenty of money in his pocket which he had obtained from her, and which she had procured by her dexterity. After going about four miles, he bethought himself that she had still some money, and, returning, crept up to the room in which she lay asleep, and stole her pocket, in which were eight guineas, and then slunk away, and never returned, leaving her in poverty, from which she never recovered." This must have been Jean, the second of his six wives; but was she as good and clever as Borrow thought? He returned *ten* miles for the money, James Thompson states!

Allan's relations with his brother and sister Gypsies cannot be passed over lightly, but all his other faults can be forgiven him, since vagabond, thief, seducer, as he was, one can never forget that he was also a true Gypsy in his love for the roads, and something of a poet in his love for his pipes. He carried them with him wherever he went. He clung to them when all his other belongings had to be sacrificed. They were tied about his waist when he jumped overboard to escape his enemies; they accompanied him across the sands

of Tartary. Only once in deserting, when he used the drones as pistols to frighten his guards, did he leave them behind. They were his *Open Sesame* to almost every door, to almost every heart. His biographers even tell the very tunes he played when he wished to make a friend or accomplish an object: it was *I saw my Love come passing by* for the officers on the East Indiaman bound for China, *I'll gang nae mair to yon toun* for the Gypsy Mary. And so we know the airs that saw him safely through every adventure. As violin and cymbal lend their charm to the Hungarian Gypsy, so the pipes gave Allan the redeeming touch of poetry. His renown as a piper was widespread. There was rejoicing in every Gypsy camp over the news that Jamie the Piper was coming. "He can play fu' weel on the sma' pipes," was his wife's way of recommending him to Will Marshall, the chief. The rhymes on the title-page of the Newcastle chap-book bear witness to his supremacy:—

"*Allan*, thou shalt screw thy drone,
And play up *Maggie Lauder* sweetly,
Or *Monymusk* or *Dorrington*,
And we shall frisk and foot it neatly:
Crowd gain'd applause for monie a tune,
Few peer'd him in the High or Lawlan',
But neither he nor Sandy Brown
Could trill a note like *Jemmy Allan*."

Mr. Thompson, in his *Life*, says that Old Wull was "delighted with his son's taste and zeal; for a reputation for music was identified by him as an essential appendage of the family name." It would be interesting to know whether this was mere invention, or whether in the writer's day a tradition to that effect was still preserved in the Allan family. Indeed, to the student nothing in Jamie's career would be of as much importance. That the bagpipe was a favourite musical instrument among the Gypsies there can be no doubt. Let me be honest, and confess that of the history of the bagpipe, as played by Gypsy or Gorgio, my knowledge is most superficial. But the subject is one justly awaiting the careful student; for, as Mr. MacRitchie has suggested to me, a thorough study of the bagpipe might afford an important clue to the much-disputed past of the Romany wanderers. It may not be known actually when it was introduced into Scotland, but one thing is certain—in the Lowlands, and on the Border and in the North of England, it was recognised as notably a Gypsy instrument. In this connection Mr. MacRitchie has kindly sent me several notes in proof thereof. Thus we have

Wordsworth's Female Vagrant associated with certain wild, houseless wanderers who were undoubtedly Gypsies:—

> "They with their pannier'd asses semblance made
> Of potters wandering on from door to door;
> But life of happier sort to me portray'd,
> And other joys my fancy to allure;
> The bagpipe dinning on the midnight moor,
> In barn uplighted, and companions boon
> Well met from far."

Leyden's often-quoted lines are to the same effect:—

> "On Yeta's banks the vagrant Gypsies place
> Their turf-built cots; a sunburnt swarthy race!
> . . . .
> But in the lonely barn from towns remote,
> The pipe and bladder opes its screaking throat
> To aid the revels of the noisy rout,
> Who wanton dance, or push the cups about."

Simson, in his *History* (p. 226), says that "many (of the Tweeddale and Clydesdale Gypsies) practised music; and the violin and bagpipes were the instruments they commonly used." In John Mackay Wilson's *Tales of the Borders* there is an allusion in *The Faa's Revenge* to James Allan, a Northumbrian peasant, saying with regard to Rothbury, "'You was saying what clever chaps had been born here, but nane o' ye mentioned Jamie Allan, the Gypsy and Northumberland piper, who was born here as weel as the best o' them. . . . The Gypsies were queer folk. I've heard my faither tell many a funny tale about them, when he used to whistle *Felton Loanin'*, which was made by awd Piper Allan, Jamie's faither.'" And again, in the tale of *Polwarth on the Green*, it is stated that the music to which the villagers danced on the wedding-day "proceeded from the pipes of King Johnny Faa, who with half a dozen of his people sat each with a pair of union pipes beneath his arm and discoursing 'most eloquent music.'" Did the Gypsies bring the bagpipe with them when they first crossed the Channel, or did they borrow it from the Englishmen and Scotchmen along whose roads they then began to wander? Or is it too late to answer these questions?[1]

James Allan, and probably his father before him, played on the

[1] It may also be noted that (as pointed out in the *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* vol. i. pp. 301-2) the Spanish name for a bagpipe, *gaita*, is obviously the same as the *gaïda* applied to the same instrument by the Turkish Gypsies. From which the inference is that Spain owes this *name*, if not the instrument itself, to the Gypsies. Note further this statement in Walker's *Irish Bards* (p. 165): "The *Wal-Pipe* of the Finns seems to me to be the *Cala-Mala* of the Zingari of Swinburne, and *Mala-Pioba* [or *piob-mhàla*] of the Irish"; the Irish variety, like that used by Allan, being a bellows instrument.—[Ed.]

Northumbrian or union pipes, in which, as in the Irish bagpipe, the bag is filled by means of a small pair of bellows instead of, as in the Highland pipes, by a blow-pipe. The portraits of Jamie published in the long lives, and in Mr. Brockie's *Gypsies of Yetholm*, show this very plainly. And these portraits are presumably authentic, and not mere fancy sketches, like the far more amusing cuts on the title-page of the chap-books, where pipes and kilts, to meet Cockney expectation, go together; though in the verses published at the end of all three it is explicitly said—

> "With bagpipe buckled to his side";

and again—

> "When elbow moved and bellows blew."

Cruikshank, probably with no authority but his own imagination, in an illustration, in the Thompson *Life*, of Allan as the "Piping Jockey of Northumberland," represents him with the Highland pipes, upon which a note in the same book explains he could also play.

It is not always easy in his biographies to separate the grain from the chaff. But despite all the nonsense they contain, despite their preoccupation with that coarser side of his character wherein he was not a whit better than many a common rogue who ended his days in Newgate or at Tyburn, they show that nothing ever wholly dulled that intense passion for the roads, and that "deeper, wilder, and more original feeling in music," which he, above all other English Gypsies, shared with his Hungarian brothers.

ELIZABETH ROBINS PENNELL.

III.—POLISH GYPSY FOLK-TALES.

I.—THE BRIGANDS AND THE MILLER'S DAUGHTER.

THERE was once a miller who had a beautiful daughter. Noble lords made their court to her, but she cared not for them. She was wooed by high officials, but neither did she listen to them. At length three brigands, disguised as noblemen, came to the miller's house. They ordered something to eat and drink. The miller, being invited to the repast, drank willingly, but his daughter would not take anything, for she despised them.

These three brigands returned to their leader, and said to him:—

"What shall we do with this girl? She cares for nobody; she refuses to eat and drink." Then twelve of them set out for the miller's. It was Sunday: the miller was from home: he had gone to a baptism. The daughter was all alone in the house.

The brigands arrived. They made a hole in the store-room by which to enter. Having heard them doing this, she took a sword and placed herself beside the hole made by the brigands. She was, however, very much frightened. One of the brigands came and thrust his head half through the hole. She took the sword: she cut off the brigand's head, and drew him into the store-room. Another brigand essayed to enter: she cut off his head and drew him inside. The ten other brigands asked their two comrades what they were about. "They are helping me to carry away the money here, which I am not able to lift alone." Then a third brigand came forward: the girl cut off his head and pulled him in. A fourth came, and his head, too, was cut off, and his body drawn in. The fifth brigand endeavoured to enter: she killed him in the same way, and, having cut off his head, she dragged him inside. "What are all of you about there?" asked the seven brigands who remained outside. To whom the girl answered: "They are helping me to carry off the bacon, which I am not able to carry myself, there is such a lot of it: if you do not believe me, see, here is a bit,—taste it." They ate of this bacon: they were delighted with it. The sixth brigand thrust himself forward: she killed him also: she cut off his head and drew him inside. The seventh followed him: he was killed in the same way: she cut off his head and drew him in. The eighth went there: she killed him like the others, drew him in, and cut off his head. The ninth advanced: him she killed in like fashion, and pulled him in and cut off his head. The tenth tried to enter: she killed him also, drew him in, and cut off his head. The two remaining brigands were astounded, and said to each other: "Hallo! there are ten of them there, and they are not sufficient for this money!" The eleventh came forward: he also was killed: she drew him inside and cut off his head. This twelfth one at last hesitates: "What is going on there?" He pushed his head in a little way, and this girl cut off a piece of his skin. "Ah! you are as cunning as that, are you? So, then, you have killed my brothers?" This brigand betook himself home.[1]

[1] This method of killing the robbers is exactly the same as that followed by the youth in the Moravian Gypsy tale of "The Princess and the Forester's Son" (*Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* vol. i. pp. 92, 93). In that instance the robbers are twenty-four in number.—[ED.]

Leaving this brigand, in the meantime, let us pass to the dead ones.

The miller's daughter went to bed. Her father got up next day. She said to him: "Father, twelve brigands have been here. They meant to carry me away last night, but I armed myself with your sword, and I have killed the whole twelve of them." The miller did not believe her. "If you don't believe me, father, I shall show you them." "Very well, show them to me." She led him to the store-room, where the miller saw the lot of decapitated brigands. He went to the town, and told the peasants and great lords what had happened: "My daughter has just slain twelve brigands. If you do not believe me, come with me." They went with the miller. He conducted them to the store-room. These noblemen, seeing so many beheaded brigands, spoke thus to the miller: "Tell us truly, now, who was it that killed them?" "My daughter," replied he. "Was it you who killed these brigands?" they asked of his daughter. "It was I." "And why did you do so?" "Because they wanted to carry me off." "What did you kill them with?" "With my father's sword." "That was well done." They gave her three bushels of ducats. These brigands were buried.

Ten years have already passed away. One time twelve brigands, disguised as lords, came to this miller's house, he being unaware who they were. "Will you give me your daughter in marriage?" asked one of them of him. "Why not?" replied he,—"all the more willingly because she has pined for a great lord." This was the same brigand from whose head she had cut a piece of skin. But the miller's daughter did not recognise him, and she consented to marry him. This girl begged her father to give her three bushels of oats. She got into the carriage with these noblemen, and went off with them. Hardly had they got a league from the house, when she took one handful after another of the oats and cast them on the road: this was to mark her route, and in order to recognise afterwards the way by which she had gone. She went on sowing these oats till they came to the forest where the brigands lived. She scattered the whole quantity.

Having got home, they made her come down out of the carriage. They went into the room with her. She sat down, and saw no one there but a solitary old peasant woman. "Do you recognise me?" demanded this brigand of her. "No," she replied; "I do not recognise you at all." He showed her the part of his head where a piece of the skin had been cut off by her. It was only then she recognised him. She was much alarmed at the sight of this brigand in the guise of a

nobleman. "Keep quite calm," said he to her; "we are going to cut some slices off your back." "Very well!" she replied; "if I have deserved it, chop me up into little bits." He leads her into a room, which she sees is full of money. They pass into another, and this is full of linen clothes. They enter the third, and there she sees a block and a great number of peasants hanging from pegs all round the walls.

All that she there saw caused her heart to grow faint, as though she were passing to the other world. The brigand led her back, and intrusted her to the old woman, to whom he said: "Guard her, in order that she may not flee anywhere, while we go a-hunting. We shall not return till about night; and we shall cut some strips from her back." "Very well," said the old dame. This old woman began to lament for her. "Why have you come here?" she said to her: "they will cut off strips from your back, and I shall be obliged to look on. But listen to me: go to draw water; take off your clothes and place them on the well: leave the water-pail there, and take flight." Well, she went out and fled. She came to a great forest. The dogs of the house, having smelt that she was away, began seeking for her. The old woman set herself to scolding the dogs, and crying out to them: "Where were you, then, when this girl went to fetch water?" The dogs ran out of doors: they see that she is there beside the well: they returned to the house reassured.

Let us now leave the dogs, and pass on to the girl.

The girl travelled for about seven leagues along the road which she had marked by scattering the oats. Towards night-time the brigands returned home; they ask of the old mother where the girl is, where is she gone to? . . . That brigand calls her: "Why do you not return?" She gives him no response. He armed himself with his sword, this brigand; he approached what he thought was the girl standing erect, and struck a blow on the iron standard of the well. He at once returned to the house, and told his comrades what had happened. They all rushed forth in pursuit. Well, then! she perceived these brigands following on her track. Fortunately a peasant was passing with a wagon-load of straw. She entreated the peasant, 'For the love of God, hide me in one of these large bundles of straw, and I will give you a peck of money." "I would willingly hide you," he replied, "but I am afraid that these brigands would do me harm." "Fear nothing, only hide me!" He concealed her in a large sheaf, he placed it on the wagon, and he sat down upon it. The brigands came up and called out to the peasant: "What are you carrying there?"

"A load of straw, gentlemen." They searched through the straw, but they did not examine the large bundle on which the peasant was sitting. The brigands turned back.

The peasant came to the house of the miller, whose daughter this was, and said to him: "Look! I bring back your daughter to you." On seeing that his daughter was naked, the miller fainted away. The girl dressed herself, and said to her father: "Do not be alarmed, father! look you, those were no noblemen but brigands. I know," she added, "where they live." The miller went to get soldiers and gendarmes. These took his daughter with them. "Do you know where they live?" "Yes, I know." "Will you show us where it is?" "I will show you where." She went with them into that large forest. They saw a beautiful stone palace! Three of them went in; they saw that there were a hundred brigands. "What shall we do now with these brigands?" "We will kill them," replied the soldiers. They shot the whole lot of them; not one remained alive except the old peasant woman. They would have killed her too, but the girl begged of them, "Do not kill her, for it was she who saved my life." They enter one room; they see that it is full of money; they pass into the other room, and it is full of linen clothes; they go into the third, and there they find a great number of peasants suspended from pegs along the walls. All that they found there they carried away; gold, silver, and sums of money. Then they set fire to the palace and burned it down. They returned home, and the miller's daughter took the old peasant woman with her and kept her till her death, because she had saved her life.

One night she was reminded in a dream that she had not yet recompensed the peasant who had hidden her in the straw. So next day she sent a boy to fetch this peasant. The boy went to the peasant's house, and said to him, "Come to the miller's daughter, who is asking for you." The peasant attired himself and went to the miller's house. He entered. He stopped on the threshold, and saluted the good God.[1] "You remember hiding me in the straw, my good man?" "Yes, I remember." "Well, I have never given you anything," she said to him. She went to the store-room, and brought four quarts of silver money to him. This poor peasant, quite delighted, accepted the money and took it in his hand. The miller's daughter gave him something to eat and drink; and then he took his leave and went home with the good God.

[1] It is the general custom among pious people in Poland (we are informed by Dr. Kopernicki), when entering a house, or when meeting one another, to give the greeting: "Jesus Christ be praised!" to which the response is: "From age to age!"—[ED.]

II.—THE GOLDEN BIRD AND THE GOOD HARE.

Once upon a time there was a king who had three sons; two wise and one foolish. This king had an apple-tree which bore golden apples; but every night some one robbed him of these apples. The king inflicted severe punishment upon his servants.

One time his eldest son said to him, "Father, I am going to watch the golden apple-tree, and if I do not catch the thief, you shall kill me." "Very well, go then!" He went to stand guard, but in the night-time a golden bird came and stole a golden apple from the tree. Next day the king arose and asked of his son, "Have you caught the thief?" The king counted the apples on the tree. One of them was amissing. "Well," said he to his son, "you shall be put to death." The notables of the kingdom, and everybody, prayed that he would pardon him. The king pardoned him.

Then the other brother said to the king, "Father, I also will go and keep watch; it may be that I shall seize the thief." "Very well, then, go." He made his preparations and went on guard. The golden bird came once more and stole an apple from the tree. Next day the king arose and asked of his son, "Have you caught the thief?" "No, father, I have not caught him, for he has escaped me." "Have you seen him, then?" "Yes, I have seen him." "Well, then, how was he able to escape you? You shall be killed." Then the queen and all the nobles entreated him. He pardoned this other son.

The king returned to the house. Then the third brother, the fool, came to beg of him that he would allow him to go and guard the golden apple-tree. "Father," said he, "it must be that I shall catch this thief." "Go, then, fool that you are!" replied the king: "your wise brothers have kept watch, and have not been able to take him, and you, what will you do, fool?" "Never mind, father, although my brothers may be wise, they have not known how to secure the thief: I, who am a fool, shall know better than they how to capture him." "Very well, then, go! but you shall be put to death if you do not take him." "Well, father, I agree to it, that you kill me; but if I do secure the thief, it is I who am to kill you." "Very well! I shall not seek to excuse myself!" He made his preparations. He went to keep watch. He climbed up into the tree to watch there. He stuck a needle into a wand, and leant his chin upon it. "Whenever I feel sleepy," said he to himself, "the needle will prick me, and I shall be aroused." Just at daybreak he saw a golden bird come, intending to steal one of the golden apples. He

perceived this, and, firing at the bird, he knocked out three feathers of gold. These he gathered and kept in his hand.

He got up in the morning and went to his father, who demanded of him: "Have you seized the thief? What have you taken from him?" "I have blown off a piece of his shirt with a musket-shot." Then said the king to him, "Now, you may kill me." "Father, I grant you your life." He showed him the three golden feathers; whereupon his father became blind, so dazzled was he by the terrible gleam. "What shall we do now? unfortunates that we are!"

The eldest brother said to his father, "I am going in search of this bird." "Well, go, my son; have a care of me." He took plenty of money with him and a beautiful horse. He set out in quest of this bird. He went away far out into the world. One time he saw on his way a fine inn. He went in. He ordered something to eat and drink. He hears, this son of the king, that they are wrangling in the next room. He looks through the key-hole and sees twelve young ladies playing at cards. He gently opens the door a little, and these damsels call to him: "Come away, sir, and play with us." He goes in, and he loses all his money at play. He sells his horse, and loses that money too. He sells his clothes, and still loses. Finally, he asks these damsels to lend him a hundred florins. They lend them to him, and he loses the hundred florins. "What am I to do now, pauper that I am!" These damsels cause him to be arrested and put into prison. For six months he sees no one, this eldest brother.

Then his younger brother made his preparations, and requested his father to let him go in search of the golden bird. His father said to him, "Each of you go away, and none return: very well, go!" He took even more money than his brother, and a finer horse. He set out, and arrived at the same inn. He causes them to serve him with something to eat and drink. He hears people disputing in the next room. He opens the door a little, and sees twelve damsels playing at cards. "Come away, sir, and play with us." He sits down to play, and loses all his money. He sells his horse for a large sum, which he loses in the same way. He sells his clothes, and loses likewise. Lastly, he borrows a hundred florins from the twelve damsels, and loses them also. "What shall I do now, wretch that I am!" These damsels cause him to be arrested and put into prison. Then the king says: "See! it is already six months since my two sons set out, and neither of them has returned!"

Then the foolish youngest brother wishes to go in search of this bird. He begs his father to permit him to go and seek the golden

bird. "Well, go, my lad! perhaps, fool though you be, you shall bring this bird to me sooner than your two wise brothers, who have set out, and who return not." So he made his preparations. He set out without money, and without anything else but two bottles of wine, and he set out with the help of God.

After a very long journey he came to a small wood. In this wood he saw a lame hare, which fled away from him. He would have killed this hare, but it besought him, "Have the fear of God; do not kill me, for I know where you are going, and I will tell it to you." "That is well!" replied this foolish prince; and he dismounted from his horse. He drew a fine loaf out of his pocket, and gave it to the hare to eat. For himself, he drank some of his wine, and said to this hare, "If I gave you wine too, you would certainly not drink any of it?" "Why should I not drink any of it, my lord?" responded the hare: "you have only to give me some." Well, he gave him some. The hare drank of it, and thanked him courteously. Then the foolish prince asked him, "What was that you said to me just now?" "I will tell you that you are going in search of the golden bird, three of whose feathers you knocked out with a musket-shot. You showed them to your father, who has consequently become blind." "Yes, that is so!" "But hearken: There will be various birds: there will be a cage of diamonds, a cage of gold, a cage of silver, and a cage of wood. In the first there will be a diamond bird, in the second a golden bird, in the third a silver bird, and in the fourth a miserable common bird. Beware of taking one of the birds with a beautiful cage, or it will bring misfortune on you. Now, mount upon me, and leave your horse to graze in this forest."

He mounted on the hare, and on arriving at the place where these birds were, he dismounted. Then said the hare to him again: "For God's sake, beware of touching a bird with a beautiful cage, but take the one which is in a common cage." Well, then, he goes in to steal, and he sees that there are three miserable cages. "Why," said he, "should I take one of these, when I can take a bird with a beautiful cage?" He then spied a cage of diamonds with a diamond bird in it. He approached it. He would have taken it, when suddenly these wretched birds uttered a terrible scream. The warders came running up and secured the prince. Next day the king questioned him, "Why have you come here?" "I have come, sire, to take the bird that robbed me of the golden apples." "Listen, then. You shall have that bird provided you do this for me. There is a certain king who has a silver horse. Steal that horse from him and bring it to me, and I will give you the bird." "Very well."

The fool came to his hare, and began to lament. The hare said to him, "Did I not tell you not to touch the bird in the fine cage, but to take the common bird in the common cage? Well! be silent; cease your lamenting: come with me without mounting me, and listen: There will be beautiful horses of gold and silver. Do not touch them, but take that miserable horse beside the door." Well, he went: he sees such beautiful horses: one all gold, the other silver! He looks at them, and says to himself, "Why should I take that wretched horse when I can take the golden one?" He tries to mount the golden horse, when they all neigh terribly loud,—and he was arrested. On the morrow the king arose and questioned him, "What do you want here?" "I have come, sire, to steal your silver horse, because that other king has said to me that if I bring him your silver horse, he will give me his gold bird." "Well! I will give it to you myself if you will accomplish this feat: Our third king has a daughter with locks of gold; if you will carry her off and bring her to me, I will then give you my silver steed." "Very well."

He comes back to his hare. "Why, then, won't you do what I tell you?" said the hare to him, and would have beaten him. "Come then with me, but do not get upon my back. You will go to where this princess dwells: you will eat with her: you will drink with her: finally, you will sleep with her: then I shall come during the night and carry you both away." Well, he came to where the princess lived. He ate, he drank, and he slept with her. The hare got up during the night, and carried them both away.

They set out, and by the time it was day they had gone a great distance. "Where am I?" asked the princess. The hare told her, "You will be the wife of this prince." She was quite content to have such a young and handsome husband. Then said the foolish prince, "Well, we have already got the princess with the golden locks, but how are we going to manage to steal the silver steed and the bird of gold?" "Oh," replied the hare, "that is my affair, and I shall answer for it." They remained then in that place, and the hare set out alone. He went to where that king lived, and he stole from him that same wretched horse that was beside the door. He mounted it and came back to the fool. The latter sees such a beautiful silver horse. He is enchanted that the hare had succeeded in stealing it. He causes the princess to mount this horse, and they continue their journey with the help of God. They reach the home of the third king, who had the golden bird. The hare stole from him the miserable bird in the wretched cage. (Neither the birds nor the horses

uttered a single cry.) The hare returned to the fool. He is perfectly delighted on seeing a golden bird in a golden cage. They go on their way. They set out with the help of God, and they come to that forest where they had left their horse. The prince mounted it.

Before his departure the hare said to him, "I forbid you to ransom your two brothers from death." The prince swore that he would not ransom them. He and the princess returned thanks to the good hare who had brought them away. They set out and arrived at his father's house. He presents the golden bird to his father, who thereupon recovered his sight. His father is charmed at his son bringing him his wife with the golden locks and a horse of silver. He marries her and lives with her for five years.

* * * * *

One time it occurred to this fool that he ought to go in search of his two brothers. "Do not go, my son," said his father to him: "let God punish them!" "Permit me to do so, father; I will go and seek them." His father objected, but he besought him unceasingly; till at last he allowed him to go. He came to a very large town. What does he see there? His two brothers. They were already being led to death. He came to the place, this fool, and he would have ransomed them from death, but the nobles would not have it. He offered an enormous sum, but they would not accept it. "If you will not have it so, I can do nothing but return home." He came home, and he said to his father, "Alas, father! my brothers are now dead." "Since they did not obey me," replied his father, "it is right that God should punish them."

This youngest prince dwells with his wife, and they live with the help of the good, golden God. ISIDORE KOPERNICKI.

IV.—STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE GYPSIES IN CARNIOLA.

THE following data taken from official statements show the number and distribution of these Gypsies now and four years ago.

Their family names are as follows:—

Brajdič,	(Sloven.)	12	families	in	Adelsberg, St. Michael-Stopič, Rudolfswerth.
Hudorovač,	„	10	„	„	Tanzberg, Weinitz.
Hudorovič,	„	2	„	„	St. Peter, Planina.
Reichard,	(Germ.)	6	„	„	Kropp.
Huber,	„	2	„	„	Winklern.
Kovačič,	(Sloven.)	2	„	„	Cirkle, St. Cantian.
Turkovič,	„	1	family	„	Cirkle.
Turner,	(Germ.)	1	„	„	St. Martin.

Levakovič,	(Sloven.)	1	family	in	Adelsberg.
Mohar,	„	1	„	„	Laserbach.
Hočevar,	„	1	„	„	Bründl.
Mayer,	(Germ.)	1	„	„	Winklern.
Petan,	(Sloven.)	1	„	„	Littai.
Breščak,	„	1	„	„	Kressnitz.
Full,	(Germ.)	1	„	„	Godovitsch.
Held,	„	1	„	„	Vigaun.

DISTRICT.	Community to which they are ascribed.	1890. Families.	1890. Members.	1890. Occupation.	1886. Families.	1886. Members.
ADELSBERG.	**Adelsberg**	2	9	No certain occupation.	2	9
	Sagurje.	...	...	...	1	8
	St. Peter.	1	6	Horse-dealer.	1	6
	Prem.	...	...	...	2	11
GOTTSCHEE.	**Laserbach.**	1	1	Blacksmith.	...	...
	Ossiunik.	...	...	...	4	15
	St. Cantian.	1	1	Blacksmith.	1	1
GURKFELD.	**Bründl.**	1	9	Blacksmith and Horse-dealer.	1	9
	Arch.	...	...	...	2	5
	Cirkle.	2	2	Blacksmith.	1	7
KRAINBURG.	**Winklern.**	3	16	Musicians.	3	17
LAIBACH.	**St. Martin.**	1	7	Not known.	1	7
LITTAI.	**Littai.**	1	7	} Not known.	{ 1	7
	Kressnitz.	1	3		{ 1	3
	Mariathal.	...	...	...	1	2
LOITSCH.	**Godowitsch.**	1	3	} Guitar-players	{ 1	4
	Planina.	1	1		{ ...	...
RADMANNSDORF.	**Kropp.**	6	29	Musicians and Rag-men.	4	24
	Vigaun.	1	1	Musician.	...	...
RUDOLPSWERTH.	**St. Michael-Stopič.**	9	41	} Not known.	21	97
	Rudolfswerth.	2	8			
	Brussnitz.	...	...	...	1	7
TSCHERNEMBL.	**Tanzberg.**	5	22	Not known.	6	22
	Weinitz.	5	18	Blacksmiths.	5	17
	Total,	44	184		60	279

From a private letter I learn that in Carniola there are no *colonies* of Gypsies at all—so that the nailsmiths mentioned in my note on p. 374, vol. i. of this *Journal* are apparently non-Gypsies. On the 8th of every month Gypsies come to the cattle-market at Laibach with their *Kučagazda* (Gypsy-chief), the whole of them then encamping outside of the town. On other days they are not permitted to enter, and even on market-days they must leave the town at evening.

RUDOLF VON SOWA.

V.—GYPSY ACROBATS IN ANCIENT AFRICA—*Continued.*

A VISIT to Marocco, which is daily supplying very satisfactory proofs that the country south of Mount Atlas has been for ages a stronghold of Gypsy races, has recently brought to light a remarkable fact, for which I was hardly prepared, that the Sahara—not Sus—is looked upon by the Moors as the cradle of magic and divination, so much so that a name for diviners and fortune-tellers is *Saharra*, and the warning is an everyday one, "Take care, or he will saharra you"; *i.e.* "He will put a spell on you."[1] A chief of one of the most notable tribes of these nomads of the desert, whom I have already described, has lately distinguished himself by a most amusing bit of impudence. In 1885 a small Spanish exploring expedition, which had ventured into the Sahara, was robbed by the Oulad bu Saba of everything—camels, money, clothing, etc., and was left to find its way out of the desert or to perish. It would seem that some of the party in their fright must, in order to save their lives, have promised to pay something in addition to the considerable sum that had been looted, for the Chief of the Oulad bu Saba has lately travelled all the way from the Sahara to Mogador in order to claim the amount which, he contends, is honestly due him. The Tangier newspaper which refers to this matter suggests that he ought to be rewarded by a very warm reception.

I find that the name Segani, or Singari, is very generally applied to fortune-telling tribes of the Moors.

Leo Africanus[2] calls the *Seëngaë* of Timbuctoo a black, vile people, but civil to strangers, and he adds that he cannot conjecture to what race they belong. He gives an interesting description of the diviners, enchanters, cabbalists, alchemists, and serpent-charmers of his day,[3] and draws an unpleasant picture of the vices which female fortune-tellers introduce among Moorish women.

If the view advanced in the appendix to Hooker and Ball's *Marocco and the Great Atlas* is correct, that the Zenegah language has no connection with the Berber, a careful comparison of the former with Gypsy dialects might lead to important results.

The name of a Zulu chief who is now a captive in St. Helena,

[1] Though the Susis consider that there is a connection between *Sahara* and *Saharra*, the words are so differently spelled as to suggest that the coincidence is accidental; but this might have arisen from the people north of Mount Atlas knowing nothing of the Sahara being the cradle of magic, though wandering Saharians often find their way to Syria, Persia, and even India. The magicians of *The Arabian Nights* all came from Sus and the Sahara.

[2] *De L'Afrique*, Traduction de Jean Temporal (Paris, 1830), liv. ii. 7.

[3] Liv. i. p. 3.

Shingani, is interesting, as no one can imagine that Kaffirs or their ancestors can ever have been Gypsies, and it is worthy of note that Shingani, who is a heathen, claims that Moses was an ancient hero of his race. Mr. Borrow, who met some of the Oulad Sidi Hamed O Moussa, did not consider that they were Gypsies; but there is much conclusive proof that their Saint Sidi Hamed, also the original "Moussa," were veritable Romanis. Mr. Joseph Thomson (in his *Travels in the Atlas and Southern Marocco*, p. 366) says, in his description of the city of Marocco, "Farther on is a juggler, who has shown his skill in European circuses, and by virtue of his Master, Si Hamed u Musa, has astonished the Nazarene. His dress and manners, and the English and French phrases which he shouts at us, make the matter certain." But the Saint, while he gave him a deftness in sleight-of-hand tricks, also bequeathed to him a less enviable heritage. "Abdul Aziz, besides being the Saint of Marocco, holds that position also in relation to the blind, the crippled, and persons otherwise deformed. It is reported of him that on one occasion, on meeting a rival saint, Si Hamed u Musa, and being in an irritable mood, he cursed him, and swore that all his descendants should be beggars. Si Hamed u Musa was at once put on his mettle, and swore that the children and children's children of Abdul Aziz should be all deformed. Hence the fact that all beggars claim the one as their ancestor or saint, and the presence of the crowds of the diseased that gather around the shrine of the other" (p. 357).

Hence we must make allowances for that weakness for begging which the Gypsy race too often exhibits. The great centre of the tribe of Sidi Hamed O Moussa is at Tazzawalt, which is to the south of Massa, and near the seacoast. There the representative of the saint reigns practically as a king, and is, no doubt, the most powerful man, next to the Sultan, from the Mediterranean to the Sahara. During the recent raid of the Sultan into Sus, the ruler of Tazzawalt merely sent his son as his representative, to wait upon his Majesty. His wealth is very great, and his influence extends over all the races of Southern Sus, who annually frequent the great fair at Tazzawalt, and for a time consent to lay aside their tribal wars.

My Susi servant used to tell me often about Sidna Moussa the ancestor of the Saint, who, if his account of the Saint is true, must have had some connection with one of the old Libyan gods who came from "The Land of the Gods" to Egypt, "*Bes* or *Bas*," the oldest form of the godhead in the land of Punt, which wandered far, and gained a footing not only in Egypt, but also in Arabia, and other lands of

Asia, as far as the islands of the Greeks. The misshapen Bes, with apish countenance, is no other than the beneficent Dionysos, who, as a pilgrim through the world, dispensed with hand, rich in blessings, mild manners, peace, and jollity to the nations."[1] According to Sus's tradition, Sidna Moussa was wholly given to mirth and frolic, and to music and dancing, travelling from place to place in order to make fun and to enjoy it, and always conspicuous by a remarkable coat, the patches and holes of which were affectionately preserved by him. He ultimately wandered far away, and was never heard of more, and it has been supposed that he was killed in some battle, but his burial-place no man knows to this day. His famous descendant Sidi Hamed was, no doubt, a much more dignified personage. Sidi Hassan (the name I gave to Sidi Hamed in my last) a recent representative of the Saint, was, according to my Susi, a bitter enemy of Christians, and is remembered by, among other things, his possession of a white horse, which was remarkable for its beauty as well as for its docility, and which would stand motionless with an apple placed between its ears, while Sidi Hassan would advance several paces ahead of it, and fixing his gun over his shoulder backwards, would hit the apple with a bullet. This trick, even with the aid of a mirror, was beyond question a notable one, and excited, no doubt, unbounded admiration among his followers.

I am not able to send more than some disconnected notes, and must be content to add some information as to hedgehogs and "Christmas boys." If there is anything dear to the Gypsy and to the Susi, it is hedgehogs, but the latter has a far higher appreciation of that animal than the former has. He looks upon the meat as not only pleasant to the taste, but invigorating and stimulating in its effects on the *blasés*. Nay, more, the hedgehog is the embodiment of wisdom, and takes the place which the rabbit does with the negro, or the fox does in German folklore. I have six Moorish fables before me which have been already published, and out of these three are in praise of the sapient hedgehog. The favourite mode of hunting hedgehogs is at night with dogs; when it is at bay, the sight of a torch blinds him, and he can be easily killed. To make him tender you must put him alive into boiling water, or if this cannot be done, as soon after his throat is cut as possible. But I have not told all the wonders that a hedgehog can accomplish. There are ninety-nine cures which it can effect; one of my informants puts a memo. in writing, that "it gives forces to the human bones."

[1] Brugsch Bey's *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. chap. viii.

There can be but little doubt that our *Morrice* dancers were originally *Moorish* dancers, and that our "Christmas boys" came from Marocco. Four years ago I was surprised at a Moor, who was telling me about the customs of the country, describing a play where two men fight (one of whom I remember is called *Medi*). One is killed, and a doctor comes with a magic phial, and puts it to the lips of the defunct, who immediately becomes very much alive, and begins dancing. One of the characters is like one that is familiar to any one who has seen our "Christmas boys"—a clown who has a bladder inflated with pebbles in it, which is fastened on the end of a stick, and comes down on the head of bystanders. With us he appears as "Little Devil Doubt" with a broom in his hand. These games are called *Marocaines* by the French in Algeria, and by the natives *Maracusa*.

There is also a fight between two other men about a well. One is knocked down the well, and is brought up dead, when the "leech" comes and revives him, and a violent dance ensues. If the man's face is covered with mud, there will be a good year for crops; but if he comes up bleeding, and free from mud, there is trouble in store.

This feast took place last month, and was, no doubt, a sort of harvest-home, and "All Souls," for my informant says, the feast is "called Buharri, Builman, or Assher, and is for the dead people."

Bu Bacchar.

Tangier.

VI.—SCOTTISH GYPSIES UNDER THE STEWARTS —(*Continued*).

After the date of James the Fourth's letter to his royal uncle of Denmark, the next mention of Gypsies in Scotland—so far as is known to the present writer—occurs in the Council Register of the burgh of Aberdeen, in the year 1527. The following is the entry as it appears in the Aberdeen record;[1] to which is added a parallel version in more modern English:—

8th May 1527.	8th May 1527.
The said day, it was sufficientlie provin afor the baillies and a pairt of counsall, present for the tyme, be famouss diuerss witnes, that the Egiptiens tuk out of Thomas Watsouns houss tua siluer spounis, liand in the locker of ane schryne, quhilkis contenit ilk ane a wnce of siluer, quhairfor thai chargit Eken	The said day, it was sufficiently proved before the bailies and a part of Council, present for the time, by famous divers witnesses, that the Egyptians took out of Thomas Watson's house two silver spoons, lying in the locker of a cabinet, which contained each one an ounce of silver, wherefore they charged Aiken

[1] *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, 1398-1570, p. 117. Aberdeen: Printed for the Spalding Club, 1844.

Jaks, maister of the said Egiptiens, to deliuer the said spovniss agane, or thane thair awaill, within xxiiii houris, becauss he ansuerit and come guid for his cumpany in jugement; and as to the money the said Thomas allagit tane away be thame, the bailzeis continewit the same, quhilk thai got na witnes to preif mair cleirlie. And atoure, John [*sic*] Watsoun, and his mother and serwand, was maid quit of all strublance of the said Egiptiens, and that was geven for dovin [*read* dovm].

Jacks,[1] master of the said Egyptians, to deliver the said spoons again, or then their (?) equivalent, within twenty-four hours, because he answered and became good for his company in judgment; and as to the money the said Thomas alleged [was] taken away by them, the bailies continued the same [prorogued the question], which they got no witness to prove more clearly. And moreover, John Watson, and his mother and servant, were made quit of all annoyance from the said Egyptians, and that was given for doom.

From this extract it will be seen that a certain company of Gypsies, under a different leader from that named in James the Fourth's letter in 1505, was established at Aberdeen in the spring of 1527. How long these Gypsies had been in that neighbourhood does not appear. One notable feature of the entry is that it quite supports the popular belief that "Gypsy" and "thief" were once synonymous terms. It must also be noted, however, that the two references of 1505, already quoted, do not present them to us in this unpleasant light.

But when, in the October of 1539, they again come into prominence in the same neighbourhood, it is, unfortunately for their reputation, in exactly the same reprehensible character. It is true that the two Gypsies specially accused of the theft were unanimously acquitted by the jury, and indeed turned the tables upon their accuser by claiming from him the expenses due by them for the trial. Nevertheless, the incident closely resembles that above quoted, where the guilt of the Gypsies was "sufficiently proved." The circumstances attending the alleged theft of 1539 are thus chronicled:—[2]

22*d January* 1540.

The said day, in the actioun and caus movit be Andro Chalmer, in Westar Fintra, upon Barbara Dya Baptista and Helen Andree, thair complices, to the number of ten personis, frends and servands to Erle George, callit of Egipt, makand mentioun that in the monyth of

22d January 1540.

The said day, in the action and cause moved by Andrew Chalmer, in Wester Fintra, upon Barbara Dya Baptista and Helen Andree,[3] [and] their accomplices, to the number of ten persons, friends and servants to Earl George, styled of Egypt, making mention that in the

[1] "Jacks" (which, like its variant "Jack," is derived from "Jacques," and is an old surname in Scotland), was an Aberdeen name at that period.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 167, 8.

[3] "Andree" appears as a local surname (*op. cit.* pp. 374, etc.) as early as 1398. The name Baptista seems quite foreign to Scotland. The "Dya" in this person's name may be simply the Gypsy *dya* ("mother"), used to distinguish her from another Barbara Baptista.

October last bypast, come to his houses in Wester Fintra, and thair thiftiusly staw and tuik fra hym out of his kyst, in his chalmer, the sowm of twenty-four marks money of the realme, and will mak him na restitution thairof wythout thai be compellit.

Nomina Assise. Patrik Forbes, Duncane Mar, Walter Cullan, Maister John Fress, Gilbert Fress, Walter Hay, Androw Crawfurd younger, Androw Durtty, Alexr. Nicholsone, Alexr. Forbes, David Menzies, Johne Rattre, Henry Collisone, Thomas Hay, William Carnis.

The sayd day, Barbara Baptista and Helen Andree, Egiptians, war accusit in jugment be the prowest for the wrangous waytaking of xxiiij marks money of Scotland fra Androw Chalmer in Wester Fyntra, out of his kyst, quhilk thai denyit be George Faw, thair capitane and forspeikar, and Maister Thomas Annand, thair procuratour. And thairefter, with consent of bayth the said partiis, the said action was put to the decisione and knawlege of the assyss aboun wrytine, quhilk was chosin and sworne in jugment, in presens of partiis, and admittit be thaim furtht of court remowit, and at lyntht awysit wytht the depositionis of the wytnes producit be the said Androw Chalmer, enterit in court, fand and deliuerit, all in ane voce, that the said Androw Chalmer hed failit in his preyf twyching waytaking of the forsaid money, and maid the said Barbara and Helene, Egiptians forsaid, quyt of the clame of the same claimit at thaim be the said Androw, and dischargit thaim thairof be the haill assyss forsaid. And the said Egiptianis protestit for thair expensis againe the said Androw Chalmer, and desyrit caution of the said Androw to answer at thair instans, as law will, quhilk fand John Chalmer cautioner, to Alexander Hay, officiar.

The said day, Alexander Chalmer, procurator for the said Androw Chalmer, protestit for tyme and place to persew the laif of the Egiptianis for the said money, and tuk not that the

month of October last by-past, came to his houses in Wester Fintra, and there theftuously stole and took from him out of his chest, in his chamber, the sum of twenty-four marks money of the realm, and will make him no restitution thereof unless they be compelled.

Nomina Assise: Patrick Forbes, etc

The said day, Barbara Baptista and Helen Andree, Egyptians, were accused in judgment by the provost for the wrongful away-taking of twenty-four marks money of Scotland from Andrew Chalmer in Wester Fintra, out of his chest, which they denied by George Faw, their captain and advocate (or spokesman), and Master Thomas Annand, their procurator. And thereafter, with consent of both the said parties, the said action was put to the decision and knowledge of the assize above written, which was chosen and sworn in judgment, in presence of parties, and admitted by them outside of court removed, and at length instructed by means of the depositions of the witnesses produced by the said Andrew Chalmer, entered in court, found and delivered, all in one voice [unanimously], that the said Andrew Chalmer had failed in his proof touching away-taking of the foresaid money, and made the said Barbara and Helen, Egyptians foresaid, quit of the claim of the same claimed from them by the said Andrew, and discharged them thereof by the whole assize foresaid. And the said Egyptians protested for their expenses against the said Andrew Chalmer, and desired security from the said Andrew to answer at their instance, as law will, which found John Chalmer cautioner [surety], to Alexander Hay, officer.

The said day, Alexander Chalmer, procurator for the said Andrew Chalmer, protested for time and place to pursue the remainder of the Egyptians for the said money, and took note that the said

said Barbara and Helene allanarly ar made quyt of the said claim, as he allegit.

The said day, Maister Thomas Annand, procuratour for the Egiptianis, and George Faw, thair capitaine, requirit Androw Chalmer in jugment to nayme or nott samony of thair company as he was plenteus on for the thiftouss waytaking of his money, quhilk accepit allanarlie at that tyme bot twa, that is to say, Barbara Dya Baptista and Helen Andree; and the forsaid procuratour protestit that he sald hef na place in tyme cuming to persew nane of the company, becaus thai war all present in jugment.

Barbara and Helen only are made quit of the said claim, as he alleged.

The said day, Master Thomas Annand, procurator for the Egyptians, and George Faw, their captain, required Andrew Chalmer in judgment to name or note as many of their company as he was complaining against for the theftuous away-taking of his money, which accepted only at that time two, that is to say, Barbara Dya Baptista and Helen Andree; and the foresaid procurator protested that he should have no place in time coming to pursue any of the company, because they were all present in judgment.

Six weeks later this case again came before the notice of the Council, as the following brief entry testifies:—[1]

4th March 1540.

The said day, the Egiptianis quhilks wer maid quytt obefor of Androw Chalmeris clame maid Joh Faw thar capitanis procurators for thaime, to persew thair expensiss, and the bailzie geff him power to follow the same, on the queilks they tuk nott.

4th March 1540.

The said day, the Egyptians who were made quit previously of Andrew Chalmer's claim made [? George and] John Faw, their captains, procurators for them, to pursue their expenses, and the bailie gave him [? them] power to follow the same, of which they took note.

To remark in detail upon the many interesting features of this account is impossible in these pages, where the various citations themselves, rather than the ideas they suggest, ought chiefly to engage our attention. It may be noted, however, that either this company of Gypsies was different from that of 1527, or else the then chief had given place to a certain George Faw, with whom his brother John Faw[2] seems to have been associated in command. The surname "Faw" has been so identified with the Gypsies of Scotland, and also of the North of England, that it is worth noting that this entry gives us the year 1539 as the date of the earliest definite mention of a Gypsy bearing that surname. It is true that a "John Faw" is spoken of as a Gypsy chief of the year 1470, as previously noticed; but that reference was merely traditional, without any historical proof of its correctness. "Faw" is an old surname in Scotland,[3] but this is the earliest known instance in which the bearer of it is clearly recognisable as a Gypsy.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 169.

[2] As will be seen from the next two extracts.

[3] For example, a "John Faw" and a "Patrick Faw" appear as respectively the occupiers of a half-bovate of land in East Lothian in the year 1507.—*Register of the Great Seal of Scotland.*

The remarkable alternations of leniency and severity formerly exhibited towards Gypsies by the Scottish authorities are well exemplified in these Aberdeen notices of 1540. That Gypsies were then and there regarded as thieves by "habit and repute" is apparent from the tenor of the following entry:[1]—

21st February 1540.	21st February 1540.
The bailzeis charged George Faw, Egiptian, and his brother, to remoif thameself, their cumpany, and gudis of this toun, betuix this and Sonday nixt cummis, under all pane and charge that aftir ma follow; and in the myntime, that nane of thair cumpany cum in ony houss or cloiss in this toun, bot gif thai be sent about, and gif ony dois quhat beis away in the same houss, that the said George and his brother sal refound sayme."	The bailies charged George Faw, Egyptian, and his brother, to remove themselves, their company and goods out of this town, betwixt this date and Sunday next, under all penalty and charge that thereafter may follow; and in the meantime, that none of their company come into any house or close in this town, unless they be sent about, and if any does what may be away in the same house, that the said George and his brother shall refund the same.

In view of this municipal edict one may reasonably doubt whether the Gypsies were not as responsible for the theft committed in 1539 as they were proved to be for that of 1527. There is ample evidence, at subsequent dates, that the offences and crimes of Gypsies were often winked at by the officers of justice; and in spite of the fact that their general manner of living was a constant infringement of existing laws, and that several of their leaders were at various times condemned to death and to banishment for murder, these special individuals are somehow found living on in their old way for many years afterwards, and the Gypsies as a class are visible in Scotland, century after century, calmly ignoring the successive waves of legislation directed against them. As already pointed out, this remarkable fact is illustrated in the Aberdeen of 1540. The reputation of this George and John Faw and their company was so notorious that the civic authorities formally pronounced a decree of banishment against them on the 21st of February. And yet we see from one of the above extracts that on the 4th of *March* the very same Gypsies were empowered by the same authorities to continue their suit against their accuser of the previous January.

One other incident of their stay in Aberdeen is revealed to us by the Council Register. Although it seems clear that the conduct of the Gypsies on this occasion was quite excusable (at a period when "blood-drawing" was an affair of no great moment), yet it is evident

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 168-9.

that the Gypsies were treated with all justice, if not with leniency. The entry is as follows:—

28th January 1540.

The said day, George Faw and Johnne Faw, Egiptianis, ware convict be the sworne assys aboune wrytine for the blud drawing of Sande Barrowne, and the said Barrowne convict for the strublens of thaim and the prouocatioune fundin in hym; quharfor thai and ilk ane of thaim war in amerciament of court, to forbeir in tym cumming, and amend as law will, and ordanit the saids Egiptianis to pay the barbour for the leyching of the said Barrowne, and to gyf him a crowne of the sone [1] for the amends of the said blud within viii days.

28th January 1540.

The said day, George Faw and John Faw, Egyptians, were convicted by the sworn assize above written for the blood-drawing of Sandie [Alexander] Barron, and the said Barron convicted for the annoyance of them and the provocation found in him; wherefore they and each of them were in amercement of court to forbear in time coming, and amend as law will, and ordained the said Egyptians to pay the barber [1] for the doctoring of the said Barron, and to give him a crown of the sun [2] for the amends of the said blood within eight days.

It is to be noted that the decree banishing George and John Faw and their company from Aberdeen in February 1540 forms the earliest known instance in Scotland of legislation directed *specially* against Gypsies. There were undoubtedly laws in force, as early as the year 1424, which aimed at the repression of people living the kind of life followed by the Gypsies. But these laws make no mention of "Gypsies" or "Egyptians." Whatever may be the explanation, the Gypsies of the sixteenth century appear as the *protégés* of the Scottish monarchs, and not as men living under the ban of the law, from the time they are first mentioned in 1505 throughout three successive reigns (except for a brief interval, to be presently noticed). This is distinctly apparent with regard to the very John Faw whom the Aberdeen bailies prohibited from living in their town. Strange as it may appear, the authorities of Aberdeen were thus acting in direct opposition to the expressed wishes of the reigning monarch.

This sovereign, James v. of Scotland, was the friend of the Gypsies in a much greater degree than his father (whose letter of commendation to the King of Denmark has already been quoted). That, as tradition states, he sometimes associated with them in the course of those solitary roving expeditions for which he was noted,

[1] At that period barbers practised surgery.

[2] With regard to this coin, Mr. Adam B. Richardson, Curator of Coins to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, has been good enough to supply me with the information that the French *écu d'or* is indicated by these early references; and he adds: "The only similar piece we have in the Scottish series is the unique gold crown of Mary, dated 1561, which has the sun for mint mark." Among certain spoil alleged to have been taken from the house of Ancrum, Roxburghshire, in the year 1573, are "twentie scoir of crounis of the sone, price of the pece xxxvi. ȝ." (*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1878, p. 270).

seems quite probable. It is true that if his Gypsy experiences were all of the same disagreeable nature as that quoted by Mr. Simson in his *History* (pp. 104-106),[1] they would not tend to make him view those people with a friendly eye. But a proof of the King's friendship, which is of a much more reliable nature than any tradition, is afforded by the following writ of the Privy Council of Scotland, signed by the King at his palace of Falkland just four days before the bailies of Aberdeen had decreed the expulsion of this same John Faw from their town.[2] It is in these terms:—

Regist. Secreti Sigilli, vol. xiv. fol. 59.

James be the grace of God King of Scottis, To oure Shireffis of Edinburgh principall and within the constabularie of Hadingtoun, Berwik, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Perth, Forfar, Fife, Clakmannane, Kinross, Kincardin, Abirdene, Banf, Elgin and Fores, Narne, Inverness, Linlithqow, Peblis, Striviling, Lanark, Renfrew, Dunbertane and Drumfreis, Bute and Wigtoun, Stewartis of Annanderdale, Kirkcudbrycht, Menteith and Stratherne, Bailies of Kile, Carrik, and Cunynghame, and thaire Deputis, Provestis, Aldermen, and Baillies of oure Burrowis and Cieteis of Edinburgh, Hadingtoun, Lawder, Jedburgh, Selkirk, Peblis, Perth, Forfar, Cowper, Sanctandrois, Kincardin, Abirdene, Banf, Elgin and Fores, Narne, Inverness, Linlithqow, Striuiling, Lanark, Glasqow, Rutherglen, Renfrew, Dunbertane, and Drumfreis, Wigtoun, Irwyn, Kirkcudbrycht, Quhitterne, and to all utheris Shireffis, Stewartis, Provestis, Auldermen, and Baillies within oure realme,— Greting: fforsamekill as it is humblie menit and schewin to us be oure louit Johnne Faw, lord and erle of Litill Egipt, That quhair he obtenit oure Lettres under oure Grete Seile direct to zow all and sundry oure saidis Shireffis, Stewartis, Baillies, Prouestis, Aldermen, and Baillies of burrois, and to all and sindry utheris havand autoritie within oure realme to assist to him in executioun of justice upoun his cumpany and folkis conforme to the lawis of Egipt, and in punissing of all thame that rebellis aganis him: Neuertheles as we are informyt Sebastiane Lalow, Egiptiane, ane of the said Johnnis cumpany with his complices and parttakaris undir writtin, that is to say, Anteane Donea, Satona Fingo, Nona Finco, Phillip Hatseyggow, Towla Bailzow, Grasta Neyn, Geleyr Bailzow, Bernard Beige, Demer Matskalla, Not-Faw Lawlowr, Martyn Femine rebellis and conspiris aganis the said Johnne Faw, and hes removit thame alluterly out of his cumpany, and takin fra him diuerss sovmes of money, jewellis, claithis, and utheris gudis to the quantite of ane grete sovme of money, and on na wys will pas hame with him, Howbeit he hes biddin and remanit of lang tyme upoun thame, and is bunding and oblist to bring hame with him all thame of his cumpany that ar on live, and ane testimoniale of thame that are deid. And als the said Johnne hes the said Sebastianis obligatioun maid in Dunfermling befor our maister houssald that he and his cumpany suld remane with him and on na wys depart fra him, as the samyn beris: In contrar the tennour of the quhilk the said Sebastiane be sinister and wrang informatioun, fals relatioun, and circumventioun of us, hes purchest our writingis dischargeing him and the remanent of the persones abone writtin his complices and parttakaris of the said Johnnis cumpany and with his gudis takin be thame fra him

[1] This incident, which is also associated with King John of England, is referred to in the *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* vol. i. pp. 244-5.

[2] Perhaps the explanation of the fact that, as stated on a previous page, those Faws are seen living in Aberdeen twelve days after the date of the municipal edict, may be found in the hypothesis that the latter had been practically cancelled by the Privy Council decree (which may not have reached Aberdeen until after 21st February).

caussis certane oure liegis assist to thame and thair opinionis and to fortify and tak thair part aganis the said Johnne thair lord and maister, sua that he on na wys can apprehend nor get thame to haue thame hame agane within thaire awin cuntre, eftir the tennour of his said Band, to his hevy dampnage and skaith and in grete perrell of tynsall of his heretage, and expres aganis justice: Owre will is heirfor, and we charge zow straitlie, and commandis that incontynent thir our Lettres sene ye and ilk ane of yow within the boundis of your office, command and charge all our liegis that nane of thame tak upoun hand to resett, assist, fortify, supple, manteine, defend, or tak part with the said Sebastiane and his complices abone writtin for na buddis nor uthir way aganis the said Johne Faw, thair Lord and maister, Bot that thai and ye inlikwis tak and lay handis upoun thame quhareuir thai may be apprehendit, and bring thame to him to be punist for thair demeritis conforme to his lawis, and help and fortify him to punis and do justice upoun thame for thair trespassis, and to that effect len to him zoure presonis, stokis, fetteris, and all uthir thingis necessar thairto as ye and ilk ane of yow, and all utheris oure liegis will answer to us thairupoun and under all hieast pane and charge that eftir may follow swa that the said Johne haue na caus of complaynt heirupoun in tyme cuming nor to resort agane to us to that effect: Nochtwithstanding ony oure writingis sinisterly purchest, or to be purchest be the said Sebastiane in the contrar; And als charge all oure liegis that nane of thame molest, vex, inquiet, or truble the said Johnne Faw and his cumpany in doing of thair lefull besynes or uthir wayis within oure realme, and in thair passing, remanyng, or away ganging furth of the samyn under the pane abone writtin: And sicklike that ye command and charge all skipparis, maisteris, and marinaris within oure realme at all portis and havynnis quhair the said Johnne and his cumpany salhappin to resort and cum to resave him and thame thairin upoun thair expenssis for furing of thame furth of oure realme to the partis bezond sey as thai and ilk ane of thame sicklike will answer to us thairupoun and undir the pane forsaid. Subscrivit with oure hand and under oure Priuie Seile at Falkland the seventene day of Februar, and of oure reigne the xxviii zeir.

Subscriptam per Regem.

Although this document is too important not to be given here *in extenso,* it has long been known to all who have paid attention to the history of the Gypsies, and therefore our present space need not be occupied in the consideration of its details. It is enough to notice that it affords ample testimony to the fact that at that period the Gypsies stood high in the favour of the King of Scotland.[1]

The next document in point of date is also well known to Gypsiologists, and was first printed by Pitcairn in his *Criminal Trials* (Edinburgh, 1833). One puzzling feature of it is that the son of John *Fall* appears as John *Wann* or *Wan.* "Fall" is used interchangeably

[1] With reference to the surnames of the Gypsies mentioned in this writ, it may be observed that "Faw" and "Bailzow" (a variant of Balliol, Baillie, etc.) are the only ones of distinctly Scottish association; and in this incident we seem to have, as Simson remarks (*History,* pp. 236-7), an early example of the long-continued rivalry between the Faws and the Baillies. "Matskalla," if it ought to be "Macskàlla," as some read it, would be a Celtic name; and "Femine" may be a mis-spelling of "Fleming." "Lawlowr" or "Lawlor," is an old English name; and the "Not Faw" prefixed to this surname in one instance seems to be rightly interpreted by Mr. Groome as being nothing else than a correction, made by the Gypsy to the clerk who was writing down his name:—"Not *Faw,* Lawlor." All the other names appear to be foreign.

with "Faw," to denote the same Gypsy family.[1] But this is the only instance of Wann (also an old Scotch surname)[2] being applied to a Gypsy. The following is the entry in the Privy Seal Register:—

Registrum Secreti Sigilli, vol. xiii. fol. 83.

Preceptum litere Johannis Wanne filii et heredis quondam Johannis Fall minoris Egipti comitis ac domini et magistri Egiptiorum infra regnum Scotie existentium Dando sibi sibi potestatem predictos Egiptios ad sibi obediendum et parendum plectere et punire, etc. Apud Sanctiandream xxvi die mensis Maij Anno Domini j^{m}v^{c}xl^{o}. x^{s} [*in margin*] per signaturam.

It is curious that the "son and heir" of John Faw (or Fall) should be known as John Wann. And even more inexplicable seems the fact that whereas John Faw was alive in March 1540, and, according to the above "precept," had been succeeded by his son in the following May, yet a document (to be cited) of the year 1553 refers to the same John Faw as though he were then still alive.

The next reference has also been printed by Pitcairn. It is an Act of the Lords of Council and Session; and although executed only one year after the very favourable order of the Privy Council, quoted above, it shows a complete reversal of the Gypsies' position. One thing it makes evident is that, not only at Aberdeen, but all over Scotland, the Gypsies had the reputation of being notorious thieves. This is the reason given for the King's withdrawal of his former privileges. He, however, must have been well aware of this long before 1541; but the Act bears strong evidence that, although it was sanctioned by the King, he had really allowed himself to be overruled by his councillors. The Act is as follows:—

Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis, vol xv. fol. 155.

Apud Striveling, sexto Junii, anno Domini, j^{m}v^{c}xli^{o}.

Sederunt archiepiscopus Glasguensis cancellarius, Willelmus episcopus Aberdonensis, Willelmus episcopus Dumblanensis, Alexander abbas Cambuskynneth, Malcolmus Dominus Flemyng, Hugo Dominus Somervile, Magister Henricus Sinclair, rector de Glasgw, Magister Jacobus Foulis clericus registri, Magister Thomas Ballenden clericus Justiciarie, et Magister Henricus Balnavis.

The quhilk day anentis the complaintis gevin in be Jhone Faw and his brether and Sebastiane Lowlaw, Egiptianis, to the Kingis grace ilkane plenyeand upon uther of divers faltis and injuris, and that it is aggreit amang thame to pas hame and to have the samyn decydit before the duke of Egipt, the Lordis of counsale being avisit with the pointis of saidis complaintis and understanding perfitlie the gret thiftis and scathis done be the saidis Egiptianis upon our soverane lordis leigis quhairever thai cum or resortis, Ordanis letres to be direct to the provestis ballies

[1] Assuming "Fall" to be the older form, its change into "Faw" will be at once understood by those acquainted with the Scotch usage in words ending in "ll" preceded by *a*, *o*, or *u*.

[2] It seems to have been a common surname in Fife and the Lothians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1436 a John Wan appeared as witness to an East Lothian charter.—*Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, Edin. 1882.

of Edinburgh, Sanct Jhonstoun, Dundee, Monros, Aberdenè, Sanct Androis, Elgin, Fores, and Invernes, and to the shirefis of Edinburgh, Fif, Perth, Forfair, Kincardin, Aberdene, Elgyn and Fores, Banf, Crummarty, Invernes, and all utheris shirefis, stewartis, provestis, and ballies quhair it happinnis the saidis Egiptianis to resort, to command and charge thame be oppin proclamatioun at the mercat croces of the heid burgh of the shirefdomes to depart furth of this realme with thair wifis, barnis, and cumpaneis, within xxx day efter thai be chargit thairto, under the pane of deid, nochtwithstanding ony utheris letres or privelegis grantit to thame be the Kingis grace. Becaus his grace, with avis of the lordis, hes dischargit the samyn for the causis forsaidis, with certificatioun and thai be fundin in this realme, the saidis xxx dayis being past, thai salbe tane and put to deid.[1]

Stringent though this measure was, it did not really banish the Gypsies for ever from Scotland, as subsequent history shows. But it appears to have driven the Faws temporarily across the Border into England; for, in the year 1549, "Baptist Fawe, Amy Fawe, and George Fawe, Egiptians," are discernible in the county of Durham.[2] But if any great number of Gypsies did leave Scotland, as a result of the decree of 1541, their absence was not one of long duration, nor did they remain under a cloud for any great length of time. For, in 1553, "John Faw, Lord and Earl of Little Egypt," appears once more in the full sunshine of royal favour; and, as of yore, not only countenanced by the Government, but receiving through it the support of the constituted authorities in dealing with Sebastian Lawlow (or Lawlor) and the other "rebels." There is no apparent reason for the favourable change in the attitude of the Scottish Government towards the Gypsies. Their protector, James the Fifth, had died in 1542, and the country was now under a Regency, the young Queen being still in France,—although the writ about to be cited runs in her name. As this document has not hitherto been quoted at length, it may be as well to reproduce it here without abridgment (although it is to some extent a repetition of the similar document of 1540):—

Regist. Secreti Sigilli, vol. xxv. fol. 62.

Marie, be the grace of God Quene of Scottis, to oure Shireffis of Edinburgh principal and within the constabularie of Hadingtoun, Bervik, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Perth, Forfar, Fife, Clackmannane, Kinross, Kincardin, Abirdene, Banff, Elgin and Fores, Nairne, Inverness, Lynlithqw, Peblis, Striuiling, Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbertane, Air, Dumfreis, But and Wigtoun, Stewartis of Annanderdaill, Kirkcud-

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[1] The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland show payments, on 23d June 1541, to three king's messengers for "passing" from Stirling to "the Northland," "the Westland," and the districts of Merse, Teviotdale, and the Lothians, with these "Letteris to the Schereffis and Burrowis for Expelling of Egiptianis."—(Quoted by Pitcairn, in his *Criminal Trials*, vol. i., Part I., p. 310 *.)

[2] *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* vol. i. p. 12. In this reference of Mr. Crofton's, the Faws are accused of having counterfeited the Great Seal of England, and of having in their possession "a writing with a great Seal much like to the King's Majesty's Great Seal." Whether this document was really a forgery or not, the Faws had certainly obtained letters under the Great Seal of Scotland, about ten years earlier, as the King of Scotland himself testifies.

bricht, Menteith and Stratherne, Baillies of Kile, Carrik, and Cunynghame, and thair Deputis; Prouestis, Aldermen and Baillies, of oure Burrowis and Ceteis of Edinburgh, Hadingtoun, Laudar, Jedburgh, Selkirk, Peblis, Perth, Forfair, Cowpar, Sanctandrois, Kincardin, Abirdene, Banff, Elgin and Fores, Narne, Invernes, Lynlithqw, Striuiling, Lanark, Glasgow, Rutherglen, Renfrew, Dumbertane, Air, Dumfreis, Wigtoun, Irwyne, Kirkcudbricht, Quhitterne; and to all utheris Shireffis, Stewartis, Prouestis, Aldermen, and Baillies within oure realme, Greting: fforsamekill as it is humblie menit and schewin to us and oure derrest cousing and tutour, James, Duke of Chettellarault, erle of Arrane, lord Hammiltoun, protectour and governour of oure realme, be oure lovit Johne Faw, lord and erle of Litill Egept, that quhair he obtenit umquhyle oure derrest fáderis letres of gude mynd, quham God assolze, under his grete seill direct to you all and sindry oure saidis shireffis, stewartis, baillies, provestis, baillies, and aldermen of oure burrowis, and to all and sindry uthiris havand auctorite within oure realme, to assist to him in executioun of justice upoun his cumpany and folkis conforme to the lawis of Egipt, and in punissing of all thame that rebellis agane him. Nevirtheles as we ar informit, Sebastiane Lalow, Egiptiane, ane of the said Johneis cumpany, with his complices parttakaris undir writtin, that is to say, Anteane Donea, Satona Fingo, Nona Finco, Phillip Hatseygow, Towla Bailyou, Grasta Neyn, Gelyer Bailyow, Bernard Beige, Demeo Matskalla, Notfaw Lawlour, Martyne Femine, rebellis and conspiris aganis the said Johne Faw, and hes removit thame alluterlie out of his cumpany, and on na wys will pas hame with him howbeit he hes biddin and remanit of langtyme upoun thame, and is bund and oblist to bring hame with him all thame of his cumpany that ar on lyve and ane testimoniall of thame that ar deid, And als the said Johne hes the said Sebastyanis obligatioun that he and his cumpany suld remane with him and on na wys depart fra him as the samin beris. In contrair the tennour of the quhilk the said Sebastiane and his complices forsaidis will nocht remane with the said Johne thar lord and maister, bot rebellis aganis him sua that he na wys can apprehend nor get thame to have thame hame agane within thair awin cuntre, eftir the tennour of the said band, to his dampnage and skaith and in grete perrell in tynsall of his heretage and expres aganis justice. Oure will is heirfor, and we charge you straitly and commandis that incontinent thir oure lettres sene ye and ilkane of you within the boundis of youre offices, command our leigis that nane of thame tak upoun hand to resett and assyn, fortyfe, suppley, and manteine, defend or tak part with the said Sebastyane and his complices for na buddis nor uthirway aganis the said Johne Faw thair lord and maister, bot that thai and ye in likwys tak and lay handis on thame quhairevir thai may be apprehendit and bring thame to him to be punist for thair demeritis conforme to his lawis, and help and fortyfe him to punis and do justice upon thame for thair trespas, and to that effect len to him your presonis, stokkis, fettaris, and all uthir necessaris thingis thairto as ye and ilkane of you and all utheris oure liegis will answer to us thairupoun undir all hiest pane and charge that eftir may follow sua that the said Johne have na caus of complaint heirupoun in tymes cuming nor to refer agane to us to that effect nochtwithstanding ony uthir oure writtingis senisterlie purchest or to be purchest be the said Sebastyane in the contrair. And als chargis all oure liegis that nane of thame molest, vex, inquiet, or trouble the said Johne Faw and his cumpany in doing of thair lefull besynes or utherwyss within oure realme, and in thare passing remanying or awayganging furth of the samyn in maner abone writtin. And siclike that ye command and charge all skipparis, maisteris, and marynaris of all schippis within our realme at all portis and havingis quhair the said Johne and his cumpany salhappin to resort for furing of thame furth of oure realme to the partis beyond seyis as thai and ilkane of thame siclike will answer to us thairupoun under the pane forsaid. Subscrivit be oure said tutour and Governour and gevin under our privie seill, at Hamiltoun the xxv of Aprile the yeir of God $j^{m}v^{c}$ and fyfty thre yeris. Subscriptam per Dominum Gubernatorem.

Equally favourable to the Gypsies,—or to their "Faw" section—are the following "Respites," granted under the Privy Seal.[1] It will be seen that the "slaughter" referred to had taken place in the month preceding the date of the document just quoted. And the reason for the issue of the second "Respite," granted a year after the first, evidently was that only a small portion of those engaged in the "slaughter" had been named in the first act of remission, and the remainder were consequently still liable to be prosecuted for the deed. The two writs which thus protected the whole of the offenders are these:—

Registrum Secreti Sigilli, vol. xxvii. fol. 3.

Ane Respitt maid to Andro Faw, capitane of the Egiptianis, George Faw, Robert Faw, and Anthony Faw, his sonis, far [*read* for] art and part of the slauchter of umquhile Niniane Smaill, servand to John Bard, smyth, committit and done in the moneth of Merche the zeir of God j^{m}v^{c} liij yeris upoun suddantie, and for all actioun and cryme that may follow therupoun, and for the space of xix yeris to indure, etc. At Linlithqw the xxiij day of Merche the yeir of God j^{m}v^{c} liii yeris

Per signaturam.

Vol. xxvii. fol. 36.

Ane respitt maid to Johnne Faw, Egiptiane, Andro George, Nichoalz George, Sebastiane Colyne, George Colyne, Julie Colyne, Johnne Colyne, James Hair, Johnne Broun, and George Broun, Egiptianis, now being within this realme, for arte and parte of the slauchter of umquhile Niniane Small, committit within the toun of Lyntoun in the moneth of Marche last bipast. And for all actioun and cryme that may follow thairupoun or be imputt to the saidis personis Egiptianis or ony of thame thairthrow. And that the said respitt for the space of nyntene yeiris but ony revocatioun to endure. At Linlithqw the viii day of Aprill the yeir of God j^{m}v^{c} liiij yeiris. Gratis. Per signaturam.

In December 1558 a band of Gypsies "came out of Scotland into England by Carlisle"; according to their own statement when arrested in the south of England in the following year. And Mr. Crofton's observation that this was most likely the band apprehended in the October of the same year, in Gloucestershire, is quite borne out by the detail pointed out by him, that one of these was a "John Lallowe," and therefore a probable kinsman of the Sebastian Lalow (or Lawlor) already notorious in Scotland.[2] If the further support obtained by John Faw from the Scottish Government in 1553 had proved of effect, it is evident that the "rebel" party under Lalow must have found Scotland an undesirable place of abode. And although the laws of England did not greatly favour them, the

[1] In May 1584 an Act of Parliament was passed against the granting of such "respites and remissions for murder and other odious crimes." They appear to have been very frequently granted.

[2] For these references see *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* i. pp. 15-16, and Mr. Crofton's *Tudors*, pp. 16-18.

officials of that country, at any rate, were not specially authorised to lend John Faw their "prisons, stocks, fetters, and all other things necessary" to enable him "to punish and do justice upon them for their trespasses." Thus, it is extremely probable that Lawlow's company really did cross the Border in 1558.

An incident which may, perhaps, belong to this period, and which must almost certainly be placed within the latter half of the sixteenth century, has already been quoted by Mr. Groome.[1] It is chronicled by the historian of the noble family of St. Clair (or Sinclair) of Roslin, in the county of Mid-Lothian. This writer states of a certain Sir William Sinclair of Roslin that "he was made Lord Justice-General by Francis[2] and Marie, King and Queen of Scotland, in 1559"; and that, among various acts of his life, "he delivered once ane Egyptian from the gibbet in the Burrow Moore, ready to be strangled, returning from Edinburgh to Roslin, upon which accoumpt the whole body of gypsies were, of old, accustomed to gather in the stanks [marshes] of Roslin every year, where they acted severall plays, dureing the moneth of May and June. There are two towers," he adds, "which were allowed them for their residence, the one called Robin Hood, the other Little John."[3] Whatever the precise date of this incident, it is evident from an order of the Privy Council, to be afterwards cited, that the Gypsies enjoyed the favour and protection of the Roslin family as late as the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

During the Regency of the Earl of Morton (after the abdication of Queen Mary, and while her son was still in his minority) the question of dealing with the "Egyptians" was twice before the Privy Council,—in 1573 and 1576; and the "charges" issued on both occasions prove that the Gypsies were regarded with anything but favour by the then governing powers. The first of these is glossed as a "Charge upoun the Egiptianis," and is as follows:[4]—

Apud Halyruidhous, tertio Aprilis, anno, etc. lxxiii°.

Forsamekill as it is understand to my Lord Regentis Grace and Lordis of Prevy Counsale, that the commoun weill of this realme is greittumlie dampnifeit and harmit, throw certane vagabound ydill and countirfute people of diverse nationis falslie namyt Egiptianis, levand in stowth and utheris unlauchfull meanys, quhilkis hes bene lang permittit to wander up and doun this realme unpuneist; quhais owersicht and impunitie apperis to bring greittar inconvenientis gif haistie remeid

[1] *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 106.

[2] Francis II. of France, husband of Mary of Scotland.

[3] *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn*, printed from MS. at Edinburgh, 1835, p. 136.

[4] P. 210 of the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. ii., A.D. 1569-1578: H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, 1878.

beis not providit. Thairfoir ordanis letters to be direct to command and charge all and sindry the saidis ydill vagabound and countirfaittit people calland thame selffis Egiptianis, men wemen and bairnis, that thay and every ane of thame—owther depart furth of this realme and na wayis returne thairin of new; or ellis settill thame selffis at certane dwelling places with maisteris, gevand knawlege to the Magistrattis of the cuntre or burgh of the samyn, be quhat honest meane craft or industre they have dedicat thame selffis to leif, betuix [this date] and the first day of Maii nix to cum; with certificatioun to thame that failyeis, thay salbe usit and demanit thaireftir as thevis. Quhilk first day of Maii being bipast, it salbe lauchfull to tak and apprehend the personis quhatsumevir fund doand in the contrair; and to convoy thame and entir thame in the publict presonis of the nixt burgh, quhair my Lord Regentis Grace ordanis thame to be ressavit and kepit upoun thair awin expensis during the space of aucht dayis, and at the end of the same aucht dayis, except thay find cautioun to observe this present ordinance, to be scurgit throughout the toun or parrochyn; and swa to be impresonit and scurgit fra parrochyn to parrochyn quhill thay be utterlie removit furth of this realme.

That this nominally severe ordinance was never really put into force is seen from the fact that, fully three years later, the Lord Regent and his Privy Council found it necessary to issue another "charge" in even stronger terms than the first. After quoting, in its preamble, the edict of 1573, this order states that the former "has not only wanted execution, but also the said idle vagabonds have continued in their wicked and mischievous manner of living, committing murders, theft, and abusing the simple and ignorant people with sorcery and divination, to the great offence of God and contempt of our Sovereign Lord's authority." Accordingly, the Council direct letters to be issued to all the sheriffs and other representatives of the Government throughout Scotland, commanding them

That thay and every ane of thame within thair awin boundis and jurisdictioun, serche and seik the saidis ydle vagabound and counterfaited people calland thame selffis Egiptianis, and present thame within the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, to suffer tryell and jugement for sic crymes and offenssis as thay ar delaitit and suspectit of, betuix the dait heirof and the fyftene day of October nix to cum, nochtwithstanding ony licence or privilege that thay can pretend, as the saidis officiaris will answer to oure Soverane Lord upoun thair obedience and diligence at thair uttirmest charge and perrell; certifeing thame quhilkis salbe found remysse and negligent heirin,—in caise ony of the saidis ydle and vagabound people may be provin to be permittit to wander and remane within ony of thair offices and jurisdictionis eftir the said day,—the saidis ordinar officiaris sa suffering and permitting thame, and not apprehending and presenting thame within the said Tolbuith of Edinburgh betuix and the said day, as said is,—thay salbe repute and haldin as favouraris and sustenaris of thevis and murtheraris, and callit and persewit thairfoir according to the generall band and the panis of the same execute upoun thame with all rigour in exempill of utheris.[1]

Such an enactment as this—wherein Gypsies are without excep-

[1] Pp. 555-6 of the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. ii., A.D. 1569-1578: H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, 1878.

tion treated as "thieves and murderers"—ought to have cleared the country of them altogether, one would think. More especially as the very officers of the law—sheriffs, lords of regality, and others—were to be held liable to the severest penalties that could be exacted from "sustainers" of thieves and murderers, if it could be found that any Gypsies were in existence within the bounds of their jurisdictions after 15th October 1576. And yet the Gypsies were not rooted out! On the contrary, we see some of them living apparently quite at ease in one of the northern counties of Scotland in the very year following the issue of this terrible decree. This appears from a reference in a celebrated trial of the year 1590—the trial of Lady Fowlis for "certain crimes of witchcraft." In this trial, the fifteenth "point" of the "dittay" against Lady Fowlis accused her of sending her servant "to the Egiptianis, to haif knawledge of thame how to poysoun the young Laird of Fowles and the young Lady Balnagoune." This happened in 1577; and although Lady Fowlis' trial did not take place till 1590, her servant had long before been convicted of this offence "and burnt for the same." It may be noted that the Gypsies seem merely to have been appealed to for *advice*, as the actual poison itself (rat-poison) was bought from "Thomas Roiss, merchant in Aberdene, in Elgne." [1]

In 1587 the Scottish Gypsies are still visible, living their old life. On 11th October of that year a proclamation was made at Holyroodhouse "of a High Court of Justiciary to be held in his Majesty's [James the Sixth's] own presence, for trial of great crimes all over the realm." This was fixed for the 27th of November. It is stated in the proclamation that "his Majestie intendis to be present in his awne persoun in the tryale and punishment of sic enormiteis as cravis maist spedy reformatioun: thay ar to say, murthour, slauchtar, fyreraising," and so on with a list, ending with "soirning [masterful begging], deforcementis of officiaris, forgeing, inbringing and outputting of fals cunyie [*i.e.* coin], witchecraft or seikaris of responssis or help at witcheis,[2] caryaris of forbiddin guids furth of the realme, convocationis, and the wicked and counterfute theveis and lymmaris calling thame selffs Egiptianis." In the catalogue of "enormities" specified

[1] See Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1833, vol. i. Part II. pp. 192-201 (specially p. 196).

[2] It may be remembered that in the *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* vol. i. p. 375, an instance is given of an Aberdeen tailor who "confessed that he made inquiry at the Egyptians for a gentlewoman's gown which was stolen out of his booth," and who consequently had to undergo Church discipline "in respect of his consultation with witches." The precise date of this occurrence was 31st January 1619. (See *Selections from Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen*, Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1846, p. 87.)

in the proclamation there are many which may not have been practised by Gypsies; but some of those just quoted certainly were."[1]

A witchcraft trial of the year 1588 contains what is evidently a casual Gypsy reference. The accused woman stated that she "learned her craft" from her kinsman a certain William Simpson, who was a native of the town of Stirling, and whose father was the king's smith. This William Simpson "was taken away from his father by a man of Egypt, a giant, being but a child, who had him away to Egypt with him, where he remained to the space of twelve years ere he came home again." She affirmed that he (Simpson) "was a great scholar and doctor of medicine," and that, "soon after his home coming," he "healed her of her disease in Lothian, within the town of Edinburgh, where she repaired to him."[2]

What appears to be the first Scottish instance of the abbreviated form of "Egyptian" occurs in the year 1598. In that year a certain Mr. John Nicolson of Lasswade, "one of the commissaries of Edinburgh" laid a formal "Complaint" before the Privy Council against James Bellenden of Pendreich, who had long nourished a feeling of animosity towards him, which had recently taken an active form. It is stated that the minister of Lasswade had, in the character of peacemaker, invited Nicolson and Bellenden to dine with him on the third of October, and on that occasion the latter pretended to renounce his former enmity. But when—two hours after Mr. Bellenden had taken his leave—Mr. Nicolson and his servant approached the Bridge of Lasswade, they encountered Mr. Bellenden's son Hew, "being accumpaneid with certane gipseis and divers utheris at ane house on the south syde of the said Brigend of Lessuaid." Acting, it was alleged, according to his father's wishes, this Hew Bellenden, "hoiping that the rest of his cumpany sould have followit him efter he had begun the bergane," advanced upon Mr. Nicolson and his servant with drawn sword, and, in the slight struggle that followed, succeeded in inflicting a wound upon his father's adversary. Nothing further is recorded of

[1] For the above, see pp. 217-18 of vol. iv. of the printed *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*: Edinburgh, 1881. The same volume has many references to "strong and idle wandering beggars," "sorners, brigands and masterful vagabonds," etc., etc. (pp. 283, 300, 302, 356, 758, and 759); and it is evident that Gypsies came under these denominations, and must have suffered under these laws, even if none had ever been specially enacted against *Egyptians*. Indeed, it is by no means unlikely that an immense number of unnoticed enactments were really directed more against Gypsies than against other non-Gypsy offenders. But in these pages our attention is confined to people who are distinctly styled "Egyptians" or "Gypsies"; because, as already stated, if we once assume that decrees passed against people bearing the characteristics of Gypsies were in all cases anti-Gypsy laws, then we should have to recognise the presence of Gypsies in Scotland at a date considerably anterior to that in which they are first *named*.

[2] Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, vol. i. Part II. pp. 162-3.

the Gypsies, who, with the rest of young Bellenden's followers, seem to have taken no part in the affair. The glimpse we have of them, however, shows them to us, not as hunted outcasts, but as among the adherents of a gentleman of good family. And this within a few miles of the Scottish capital, and in spite of the many laws previously passed for the complete effacement of the "Egyptians."

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

(*To be concluded.*)

VII.—A VOCABULARY OF THE SLOVAK-GYPSY DIALECT.

By R. von Sowa.

(*Continued.*)

P.

Pochilku, S., adv. (cf. Slov. *c'il*, now), till now.

Pochínav, M. W. (Slov. *poc'inat'*), to begin.

Other derivatives from Slov. vbs. of that form are:

podaïnau, M. S., vb. tr., to give.

podarinav man, S., vb. tr. refl., to succeed, to prosper.

pod'eïnau man, S., vb. refl., to get into.

pod'ivinau man, S., vb. refl., to wonder.

pogňavinav, M. W., vb. tr., to crush, to trample down.

pomisl'inau, S., vb. itr., to think, to deliberate.

poruchinau, S., vb. tr., to commit, to give over.

postretňinau, S., vb. tr., to meet with.

potrasinav, M. W., vb. tr., to shake.

potrebinau, S., vb. tr., to want, to need.

potreïnav, M., vb. tr., to rub.

poveshchinau, S., vb. tr., to hang, from Slov. *podat'*, *podarit'sa*, *podet'*, *podivit'sa*, *pogniavit'*, *pomyslet'*, *poruc'it'*, *postretnut'*, *potriasat'*, *potrebovat'*, *potret*, *povešat'*. From Slov. vbs. are also derived:

popravimen, M. W., adj., ready, prepared.

posekimen, M. W., adj., cut asunder from Slov. *popravit'*, *pósekat'*.

Podved'inau, S., vb. tr. (Slov. *podviest'*), to deceive, to seduce.

Poxtan, S., s. m. (Gr., Bhm. = Sl.; Hng. *postan*), linen-cloth, cloth.

Pokoi, S., s. m. (Slov. *pokoj*), quiet.

Pol. S., s. ? (Slov. *pôl*), half. *Za yekha pol minutake*—After a half minute; *Pol dru*, one and a half; *pol tret'o*, two and a half.

Poltret'onengero, M. W. (from *pol-tret'o*, cf. *pol*), silver florin (=2½ florins of *Wiener Währung*).

Pole ? S., s. m. (Slov. *pole*: the form of the nom. in Sl. is not stated with certainty), field. *Janas báre poleha*—They went through the large field.

Polókes, *polokores*. See *Lóko*.

Polouka, S., s. f. (Slov. *pol'ovka*), chase hunt.

Pomotsa, S., s. f. (Slov. *pomoc*), help.

Pór, K., s. f. (Gr. wanting; Hng. *por*, *pór*; Bhm. *porr*), 1. feather; 2. bush (thicket, forest, Kal.).

Porád, S., adv. (Slov. *porad*; Tchk. *pořád*), always, continually.

Porádkos, S., s. m. (Slov. *poradok*, Tchk. *pořádek*), order.

Pori ? (cf. *poraha* in. Sl. sg.), M. W., s. f. (Gr., Hng. *pori*; Hng. Bhm. *póri*), tail.

Posit'i, M. W., S., s. f. (Gr. wanting, Hng. *pot'isi*; Bhm. = Sl.), pocket.

Post'el'a, M. W., s. f. (Slov. *postel'*), bed.

Poshi, M. W., s. f. pl. (Gr. *poshik*, Hng. = Sl., Bhm. *póshi*), sand.

Poshchinau, S., vb. tr. (Slov. *požičat'*), to lend.

Poshl'ichku, S., adv. (Slov. ?), till now. *Te na múle, poshl'ichku hi jíde*—If they did not die, they are living still.

Pot'inau, a., *potsinau*, S., vb. tr. (Gr. wanting, Hng. *pot'inav*, Bhm. *potsinav*), to pay.

Potsiňiben, S., s. m. (from the foregoing; Bhm. = Sl.; in other dial. not noted), payment, revenues.

Prahos, M. W., s. m. (Slov. *prah*, threshold; even the pl. is in use, cf. Mikl. M. W., XII. 71).

Praxos, M. W., s. m. (Slov. *prach*), dust.

Práli, M. W., s. f. (cf. Mikl., M. W. x. 410; Gr., Hng. wanting, Bhm. *prali*, *piral'i*), chamber.

Pral'ori, M. W., s. f. (dim. of the same), chamber.

Právo, a, S., intj. (Germ. *bravo*), Good ! well done !

Pre, M. W., K., S.; *pe*, M. W., S.; *upre*, *yupre*, K., prp. Before the def. article and some other words beginning with a vowel it loses the final *e*; for example, *pr-o*, *pr-e*, *p-o*, *p-e*; *pre* and *pe* are used indifferently, but *pe* is almost invariably used before *mro* and *tro*, instead of *pre*, for the sake of euphony (Gr. *opre*; Hng. *upre*, up; Bhm. *pre*). 1. On, upon: *Pro bara perava*—I shall fall upon rocks, Kal. *Akanak java kokóro pre mre phúre xera*—Now I shall go alone on my old feet. *You gél'as pro polouka*—He went a-shooting. *Chak has zhdi pro bou beshto*—He was always sitting *on* the stove. To *pre*, *pe*, even *pelo*, *pela*, S. seems to belong, viz. in *Hoske pela na diňal ?*—Why didst thou not give it for that (price)? cf. *Me vash odova na dau.* 2. At: *Dikhl'as pr-e chúri*—He looked at the knife. 3. By: *Il' as les pr-o shinga*—He seized him by the horns, M. W. *Auka les mol'inlas pe mro sounakuno devel*—So he begged him by my golden God. 4. Into: *Irinde pes pre chiriklende*—They were transformed into birds. 5. For: *Gel'as e chai pro pani*—The girl went for water, Kal. 6. To: *Gelo pr-o dilos*—He went to diner, M. W. 7. Till; *Suto pr-o parno dives*—He was sleeping till broad noon, M. W. 8. With *a*; *Odoi tut uzhárla tro dad pre shtúre grastende*—There thy father will wait for thee with four horses. 9. Against: *Ma phen tu pre mande*—Do not tell against me, Kal. (Slov. *na mne*). *Pe leste koshellas*—He railed against him, M. W. Further here may be noted: *Pe mri dol'i*, M. W.; *preholi*, K., in spite of; *Proagor* (*pr-o agor*, cf. *yagor*), at last, K. *Panch zholta p-o rup*, M. W., five silver florins.

Pre, adv. See *Upre*.

Prech, M. W., S., adv. (Slov. *preč*), away.

Prekal, M. W., adv. prp. (from Serb. *preko*, Mikl., M. W. I. 32; Hng., Bhm. = Sl.). 1. Through: *Prekal dav*, M. W., to pierce through. 2. Through, over: *Prekal o prahos*, M. W., Over the threshold, M. W.

Prekerav, M. W., vb. tr. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. wanting, cf. Mikl., M. W. XII. 76), to penetrate. *Leske prekal o bokos prekerd'as e churi*—The knife pierced him through the side, M. W.

Preko, S., adv. (Serb. *preko*, cf. s. *prekal*, Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), through.

Prepaňimen, M. W., adj. (from Slov. *prepadnut'*), cursed, damned.

Prixist'inau, S., vb. tr. (Slov. *prichystat'*), to get ready. Also the following, derived from Slov. vbs. composed with *pri*.

pristaĭnau, S., vb. itr. (Slov. *pristat'*, to help), to suit.

pripravimen, adj. (from Slov. *pripravit'*), prepared.

Prinjárau, S., vb. tr. (Gr. *prinjarav*, Hng. *pinjarav*, Bhm. *prinjarav*), to recognise.

Printsezno, M.; *printsezhno*, S., s. f. (Slov. *princezná*), princess.

Printsos, M. W., S. (Slov. *princ*), prince.

Probál'imen, a., S., adj. (from the following), experienced, expert.

Probál'inau, M. W., S., vb. tr. (Mag. *próbálni*), to try.

Probatno, *K., adj. (Germ. *probat*), proved, Kal.

Prosinau, M. W. S., vb. tr. (Slov. *prosit'*), to beg, to pray.

Protsi, S., *proti*, M. W. (Sl. *proti*), against.

Prvo, M. W., num. ord. (Slov. *prvý*), first.

Purkos. See *Burkos*.

Purum, K, s. m. (Gr., Hng. = Sl., Bhm. *purrum*), onion.

Purumálo, K., s. m. (from the former; Gr., Hng., Bhm. wanting), gardener, Kal.

Pusto, S., adj. (Slov. *pustý*), waste, desert.

Pushum, S., s. m.? (Gr., Hng., Bhm. *pushum*, Hng. *pishum*), flea.

Pushumóri, S., s. m. f. (dim. of the same). *Tikňi pushumóri* is said to mean 'lizard' (according to one Gypsy).[1]

Pzhes, K. (Tchk. *přez*, Pol. *przez*), across by, Kal.

Ph.

Phabaï, K., S., s. f. (Gr. *pabai*, Hng. *phabi*, Bhm. = Sl.), apple.

Phabal'i, *a.*, S., *phabalin*, M. W., s. f. (cf. Gr., Hng. *pabalin*. The Gr. word means apple-tree, the Hng.?), pear, S.[2]

Phabuvav, M. W., vb. itr. (Gr., Bhm. wanting, Hng. *phabovav*), to burn.

Phagau, S., vb. tr. (Gr. *pangava*, pt. pf. *paglo*, Hng. *phagav*, Bhm. wanting), to break.

Phagerau, M. W., S., vb. itr. (Gr. *pangerava*, to cause to break; Hng. *phagerav*, to break often; Bhm. *phagérav*, to break), to break. *Tuke havore kokala me phagerau pre báre svíreha*—I break all thy bones with a large hammer.

phagerdo, S., pt. pf., lame (lit. broken).

Phándau, S., *phandav*, M. W., vb. tr. pt. pf. *phandlo*, M. W., *phailo*? S. (Gr. *pandava*, Hng., Bhm. *phandav*), to bind.

phándau andre, 1. to shut; 2. to imprison.

Pharipen, S., *paripi*, M. W., s. m. (Gr. *paribe*, Hng. *pharibe*, Bhm. *pháriben*). 1. Heaviness, clumsiness: *Báro hi man pháripen*—I am very clumsy. 2.? M. W. *Me tut dava paripi, saves tu kames. Dabo tibi equum* (?? *quem* (*qualem*) *tu vis*, Mikl., M. W. XII. 62.

Pháro, S., *pharo*, M. W., adj. (Gr. *paro*, Hng. *pharo*, Bhm. *pháro*). 1. Heavy: *Ehas leske pháro*—He was sorry (*Es that ihm leid*), M. W. *Pháro hi man vóďi*—I am sorry. 2. Difficult: *Pháres*, S., adv., difficult. *Nane pháres te vakerel Románes*—It is not difficult to speak Romanes.

Phenau, M., S., *pxenau*, *M., vb. itr. (Gr. *penava*; Hng., Bhm. *phenav*), to say; *phenau avri*, to confess.

Pheń, K., S.; *phen*, M. W., K., S., s. f. (Gr. *pen*; Hng., Bhm. *phen*), sister.

Pheras. See *Peras*.

Pherau, M. W., S.; *perav*, K., vb. tr. (Gr. *perava*, Hng. *perav*, Bhm. *phêrav*, Ješ. 69), to fill, to draw (water). *Géli peske páńi te pherel*—She went to draw water, Mikl., M. W. XII. 102.

Pherdo, M. W., K., S., adj. (pt. pf. of *phírau*), filled, full. *Pherdo le id'entsa*, full of clothes, M. W. Probably cognate is *perdo*, K., s. m., application (?); *pherdóro*, *a.*, S. (dim.)? *Odoi has atsi lóve pherdóro pherdo* — There was plenty of money (?)

Phírau, S.; *phirav*, M. W.; *pirav*, K., vb. tr. (Gr. *pirava*, Hng. *phirav*, Bhm. *phírav*). 1. To walk, to wander: *Odoi has báre chóre, auka lentsa mosi te phiralas*—There were great thieves there; so he must wander with them; cf. s. *pal*. 2. To come, K.: *Chavóro, ráklóro, hoske tu na pires?*—Boy, Slovak (?) why do you not come? Kal.

Phirávav, M. W., vb. itr. (Gr. *piravava*, tr., to cause to go; Hng. *phiravav* [*man*], to walk; Bhm. not noted). 1. To go, to move: *O zhivo le muleha pr-o grast phiravel*—The living rides (goes on horseback) with the dead, M. W. 2. To bring, to cause to come, M. W.

Phrád'ovau, S.; *pradovav*, M. W.; *phad'ovav*, M. W., vb. itr. (Gr. *paryovava*, to burst; Hng. wanting; Bhm. *pharóvav*). 1. To be opened, M. W.

[1] Cf. the note to *máťhi*.

[2] Perhaps a mistake of my Gypsy? In M. W. the meaning is not given.

S., *Phrád'il'as shukáres leske*: It (the door) was well opened for him (?). 2. To be broken, M. W.

Phral. See *Upral*.

Phral, S.; *pral*, M.; *phrál*, K., s. m. (Gr. *pral*, *plal*; Hng., Bhm. *phral*), brother.

Phralóro, S.; *praloro*, M. W., s. m. (dim. of *phral*), brother.

Phravav, M. W., S.; *pravav*, M. W., K.; *pravnav* (incorrect), *phirávav*, K., vb. tr., pt. pf.; *phrádo*, S.; *prado*, M. W. (Gr. *paravava*, to cleave, to rend; Hng. *paravav*, to clean, to plough; Bhm. *pharavav*, to clean). 1. To open; 2. to plough (open the earth), K.: *Yekvar oda dui chave pravnas e phu dur pal o gau*—Once these two lads were ploughing (opening the ground) at a distance from the village, Kal.

Phuchau, M. W., S.; *puchav*, M. W., K., vb. itr. pt. pf.; *phuchlo*, M. W., S. (Gr. *puchava*, pt. pf. *puchlo*, *pushlo*; Hng. *phuchav*; Bhm. *phuchav man*, according to the Tschk. *ptáti se*), to ask. *Phuchel lestar le dadestar*—He asks him, the father.

Pfudro. See *Phurdau*.

Pukav (r. *ph*-), K., vb. tr. (Gr., Bhm. wanting, Hng., =Sl.), to accuse.

Phukavau, M., S.; *pukavav*, M. W., vb. itr. tr.? Gr., Hng. wanting, Bhm. *phukavav*), to complain. *Ola romńi avl'as kére he phukad'as peskre romeske, hoi man o rashai márd'as*—The Gypsy woman came home and complained to her husband: The parson has beaten me.

Phurano, M. W., adj. (Gr. = Slov., Hng. wanting; Bhm. *purúno*, withered), old.

Phurd, K.; *purt*, M. W., s. f. (Gr., Hng. *purt*; Bhm. *phurd*), bridge.

Phurdau, *purdau*, M. W.; *phudav*, *K., K., vb. itr. tr. pt. pf.; *pfudino*, *M. (Gr. *purdava*, *pudava*; Hng. *pudav*; Bhm. *phurdav*), to blow.

pfudro, *M., adj., blowing (wind).

Purdino, M. W., s. m. (Gr. *purdino*, grin; Hng. *phurdini*, bag-pipe; Bhm. *phurdini*, weasel), bag-pipe.

Phúripen, S.; *phuriben*, M. W., s. m. (Gr., Hng. *phuribe*; Bhm. *phuriben*), old age.

Phúro, M., S.; *phuro*, K., adj. (Gr., Hng. *puro*, *phuro*; Bhm. *phúro*), old, s. m., old man.

Phúrovau, S., vb. itr. (Gr. *phuryovava*, Hng. not noted, Bhm. *phúrovav*), to grow old.

Phuŭ, S.; *phu*, M. W., K.; *pfú*, *M., s. f. (Gr. *phuw*, *puv*; Hng. *phuf*, *phu*; Bhm. *phuv*), earth.

Phuvakero, S., s. m., and

Phuvengero, M. W., s. m. (cf. Gr. *phuvyakere phabi*), potato.

Phuy, *a*., K., adj. (Gr., Hng. wanting; Bhm. *phui*, pshaw!), bad.

phuyes, K., S., adv., badly.

R.

Rada, S., s. f. (Slov. *rada*), advice. *Nashchi peske dińas o minaris ańi rada*—The miller did not even know what to do (lit. he could not give himself any advice).

Radisal'ovav, M. W., vb. itr. (Slov. *radovat' sa*), to enjoy.

Rádo, M., S., adv. adj. pred. (Slov. *rád*), glad. *O gáje has igen rada*—The men were very glad, M.

Radost'a, M. W., S., f. (Slov. *radosť*), joy, gladness.

Rai, S., M., K., s. m. obl. sg. *ras*, pl. *ran*, S. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), gentleman. Every well-dressed non-Gypsy is called rai, cf. *báro*.

Rakau, S., *rakhav*, K., vb. tr. pt. pf. *raklo* (Gr. *arakava*, pt. pf. *araklo*, *araklińo*, to preserve: Hng. *arakhav*, to give heed to; *alakhav*, to find: Bhm. *arakav*, to scare; *rakav*, to find), to find.

Ráklo, M., S.; *raklo*, K., S., s. m. (Gr., Hng. *raklo*; Hng., Bhm. *ráklo*), lad, boy.

Rákloro, S.; *rakl'ore*, M. W.; *rakl'oro*, K., S., s. m. (dim. of the same), lad, boy. Kal. p. 98, 15, translates: *Chavóro rakl'oro hoske tu na pires?*—Slovak boy, why do you not come?[1]

Rákl'i, S., s. f. (Gr., Hng. *rakli*; Hng., Bhm. *rákl'i*), girl.

[1] It is true there is no instance of *ráklo*, *rákl'i* being used to denote a Gypsy boy or girl. But I am not prepared to say it cannot be so used.

Rákl'ori, S.; *rakl'ori*, M. W., s. f. (dim. of the same), girl.

Rakos, S., s. m. (Slov. *rak*), crab.

Ráno, S., s. m. (Slov. *ráno*. The Slavonic *rano* is used even in Gr., Mikl., M. W. VIII. 56), morning. Only in *azh do rána*, till the morning.

Ráńi, S.; *ráni*, K., s. f. (Gr. *ranni*; Hng. *rani*, *ráni*; Bhm. *ráńi*), lady, cf. *báro*.

Rańik, M. W.; *rani*, K., s. f.? (Gr. *ran*, m., stick; Hng. *ran*, *rańik*; Bhm. *rańi*), rod, switch.

Rańikori, M. W.; *rańikóri*, M., s. f., and

Rańori, M. W., s. f. (dim. of *rańik*, *rańi*), rod, switch.

Rasinav, M. W., vb. tr. (Slov. *triast'*?), to shake.

Rashai, *ráshai*, S., s. m. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. *rashai*), priest, parson.

Rat, K., s. m. (Gr. *ratt*; Hng., Bhm. *rat*), blood; *rateskero*, M. W., adj., bloody.

Rat, M. W., K., S.; *rát*, K. *rát'i*, S., s. f. (Gr. *rat*; Hng. *rati*, *rat'i*; Bhm. = Sl. *rat'*), night; *rat'atar*, in the night, M. W.; *rat'aha* (nom.?), morning, M. W., S.; *láchi rat'aha!* Good morning! M. W.; *rát'i* (loc.), in the night, S.; *ráti*, at dusk, Kal.; in the evening, M. W.; *kia ráti*, evening (?), S.

Ratol'est'a, S., s. f. (Slov. *ratolest'*), branch (of a tree).

Ratválo, M. W., S., adj. (Gr. *rathvalo*; Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), bloody, tinged with blood. *E chúri has ratvál'i*—The knife was bloody.

Rat'ovau, K., vb. itr.; *rát'ol*, S.; *ratiol*, K., vb. imp. (Gr. *rattyovela*, vb. imp.; Hng., Bhm. wanting). 1. To pass the night: *Kana ratile he savore sute*—When it was night, and all were asleep, Kal. 2. The night comes on: *Me chak rát'ol, mange java avri*—When night comes on, I shall come out.

Ráyos, S., s. m. (Slov. *ráj*), paradise.

Reblika, K., s. f. (Slov. *rebrík*), ladder.

Rekrútos, S., s. m. (Slov. *rekrut*), recruit.

Rektoris, S., s. m. (Slov. *rechtor*), schoolmaster.

Remeslos, S., s. m. (Slov. *remeslo*), trade profession.

Repedinav, *M., vb. itr. (Mag. *repedni*), to burst.

Resav, M. W., *K., vb. tr. (Gr. *resava*, to reach, to be sufficient; Hng. *résav*, to meet with; Bhm. wanting), to obtain, to meet with.

Reverenda, S., s. f. (Slov. *reverenda*), chasuble.

Ribaris, S., s. m. pl. *ribara*, *ribari* (Slov. *rybár*), fisherman.

Ribńikos, S., s. m. (Slov. *rybník*), pond.

Rik, M. W., s. m. (Gr., Bhm. *rik*; Hng. *rig*), side.

Rila, S., s. f., pl. *rila* (Gr. *rül*, *rür*; Hng. not noted; Bhm. *ril*), Lat. *peditum*.

Ríto, *M., s. m. (Slov. *rýt*, wood?), meadow.

Ritsin, S., s. f.? grease, tar.

Robotnikos? M. W. (the nom. sg. not stated; n. pl. *robotnika*), workman.

Rodau, S.; *rodav*, K., vb. tr. pf.; *rodińom*, K. (Gr. *rodava*, Hng. *rodav*, Bhm. *ródav*), to seek, to find? to look, K.; *rodau avri*, S. *id.*

Rom, M. W., K., S., m. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. = Sl.). 1. Gypsy: *Vakéres románes he janes láches te vakerel auka har pes kamel, tu sal láches sikl'árdo auka har Rom na auka har Gájo*—You speak Romanes, and know how to speak it as well as you like (to do): you have learnt it (are instructed) well, like a Gypsy, not like a *Gájo*. *Lesh man hale o Roma he Gaje*—The Gypsies and the peasants have devoured me, K. 2. Husband: *Tu sal mri romńi, me som tro rom*—Thou art (will be) my wife, I am thy husband.[1]

Románo, K., S.; *Romano*, *M., *K., adj. (Gr. *Romano*; Hng., Bhm. *Románo*), Gypsies. *Chayóri Románi*, Gypsygirl, K.

Románes, adv. S. in the Gypsy language. *Te vakerel Románes*, to speak the Gypsy language.

Romńad'imen, M. W., adj. (Gr., Hng., Bhm. wanting, or at least not noted; Germ. *romedíni*, with f. subj.), married, probably with m. subject.

[1] Nowhere does it mean "man" in general, cf. *romni*, *mánush*, *manushni* (cf. MacRitchie, *The Gypsies of India*, p. 91).

Romńi, M. W., S.; *romni*, K., s. f. (Gr. Hng. *romni*; Bhm. *romńi*), 1. Gypsy woman; 2. married woman, wife. *Tri romni hi bokáli*—Thy wife is hungry, K.; cf. *rom*.

Romńóri, S., s. f. (dim. of *Romńi*), Gypsy woman.

Romoro, M. W.; *Romóro*, K., s. m. (dim. of *Rom*), young Gypsy.

Rosa, M. W., s. f. (Slov. *rosa*), dew.

Rovau, S.; *rovav*, M. W., K., vb. itr. (Gr. *rovava*, pt. pf. *ruvno*; Hng., Bhm. *rovav*), to weep. *Hoske me na rovávas pal mro lácho phral?*—Why should I not weep for my good brother?

Roviben, M. W., S., s. m. (Gr. *roibe*, Hng. *rovibe*, Bhm. *roviben*), weeping. *Pes dine and-o roviben*—They began to weep.

Rovl'árau, S., vb. itr. (Gr., Hng. wanting, Bhm. *rovl'árav*), to weep. *Tri phúri dayóri rovl'árela pre tute*—Thy old mother will weep for thee.

Rovl'i, S., s. f. (Gr. *ruvli*, *rubli*; Hng., Bhm. *rovli*), stick.

Rovl'óri, S., s. f. (dim. of the same), stick.

Rozdaïnau, S., vb. tr. (Slov. *rozdat'*), to give away, to distribute. Other borrowed compounds with *roz-* are:

rozkazinau, M. W., vb. tr., to order. *rozkazind'as ke range*—He ordered the gentlemen, etc.

rozlúchinav, M. W., vb., to separate.

rozsekinau, S., vb. tr., to cut into pieces, to tear into shreds.

roztrhinav, M., vb. tr., to tear, to dilacerate.

rozsvyetsisal'ol, vb. imp., it dawns, from Slov. *rozkazovat'*, *rozlúčit*, *rozsekat'*, *rozsvietit'* (to make a light).

rozkonárimen, M. W., adj. (Slov. *rozkonárený*, Mikl., M. W. x. 545), having branches.

Ruminau, S., vb. tr. (cf. Pott. I. 98; (Gr. wanting; Bhm. *rumínav*, Ješ. 70), to destroy.

Rup, S., s. m. pl. *rup* (meaning "florins"; *rupa*, "silversmith's ware," M. W.; Gr., Hng., Bhm. *rup*; Hng. *ruph*), 1. silver; 2. florin. *Pro kúrko dostaïnlas oxto rup*—For a week('s work) he obtained eight florins.

Rupuno, S., adj. (Gr. *rupovano*, Hng. *ruphuno*, Bhm. *rupúno*), of silver.

Rushav, M. W., vb. itr. (Gr. wanting; Hng. *rushav*; Bhm. *rushavman*), to become angry.

Rushto, M. W., adj. (pl. pf.), angry.

Run, S., K., s. m. pl. *ruva*, S.; *rua*, K. (Gr. *ruv*, *ruf*; Hng., Bhm. *ruv*), wolf.

S.

Sáhos, S., s. m. (Slov. *sáh*, fathom), cord of wood, wood-pile.

Sako, M., K., S., pron. ind. obl. sg., *sakones*, m. *sakona*, f. (Gr. wanting, Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), every, each. *Pekl'as lenge sakoneske and-e tarishńa o máre*—Fecit eis unicuique in peram panes.

Samo, M. W., S., pron. ind. (Slov. *samý*), mere, merely, nothing but. *Shukár bokol'a samo tsiral he samo t'hil*—Fine cakes, mere cheese and mere butter.

Sano, M. W., *K., adj. (Gr. *sanno*, Hng. *sano*, Bhm. *sáno*), fine, thin.

Sańistra, S., s. f., pocket.

Sap, M. W., S., s. m. (Gr. *sapp*; Hng., Bhm. = Sl.), serpent.

Sapano, M. W., adj (Gr., Hng. wanting, Bhm. *sapáno*), moist, humid.

Sapańárav, M., vb. tr. (Gr., Hng. wanting, Bhm. *sapńárav*), to wet.

Sar. See *Har*.

Sarandutno, M, W., num. ord. (from Mod. Greek *σαράντα*. The word is not found in other dialects), fortieth.

Saro. See *Savoro*.

Sasikáno, S., adj. (from the following: not wanted in other dialects), military. *You has and-e sasikáno máro trianda bersh*—He was thirty years in the military service (lit. soldiers' bread), cf. *lukestáno*.

Sasos, K., S.; *sásos*, M. W., s. m. (Rum. *sasŭ*, from Germ. *Sachse*; Hng. wanting, Bhm. *sasos*), soldier, S., *pandour* M. W.

Saster, S.; *strat*, S.; *tras*, M. W., s. m. (Gr. *shastir*, *sastir*; Hng. *srastra*, *trast*; Bhm. *saster*), iron. *Stras (t) and-o vudar*, door-latch, S. *Trasa*, pl., *M.

REVIEWS.

The Gypsies. By Francis Hindes Groome.

ORIGINALLY delivered[1] as one of a series of lectures on "National Life and Thought among the various Nations throughout the World," this account now appears in the recently published volume of that series.[2] There is, as Mr. Groome himself begins by remarking, something slightly ludicrous in this association of Gypsies with other "nations of the world"; "for the Gypsies have no politics,—they have less than no national aspirations." But the audience who listened to this address must have come away with the feeling that they had, for the most part, received a great deal of enlightenment with regard to a caste or race (if it be not a "nation") possessing a distinct individuality and a history. As might be expected, the information thus given contains comparatively little that is new to those who have studied the history and characteristics of the Gypsies, more particularly to those of us who have read Mr. Groome's "*In Gypsy Tents,*" and his erudite contribution to the *Encyclopædia Britannica,* as well as his subsequent article in the *National Review* (June 1888), wherein he supports the theory that Europe is in a marked degree indebted to the Gypsies for its folk-tales and its knowledge of metallurgy. But all will be interested in reading this re-statement of facts and opinions formerly expressed.

One trifling inaccuracy may be noticed,—the assumption that a certain Gypsy incident, referred to in our present number (p. 303), took place in the year 1559. No doubt that year is connected with one event in the life of the Sir William Sinclair spoken of, but the family historian gives no date for the *Gypsy* incident, which possibly ought to be placed twenty or thirty years later.

The monograph is enlivened with several humorous anecdotes, of which the following, as casting a gleam of light upon the dark mysteries of the Egyptian oracle, may here be quoted:—

"In return, I told him another fortune-telling story of another friend of mine, an artist, who visited some Gypsies at Dunbar. They told him his name, and where he came from, though he had only just landed a week before from Melbourne. He was greatly impressed with their powers, was quite certain there *must* be something in palmistry. However, a few months after, he met the same Gypsies in Fife, and of course, he again consulted the oracle. 'Look here,' he said to Mrs. Petulèngro, 'that first time you told me my name, and I gave you five shillings; now this time I'll give you ten if you'll let me into the secret of your power.' 'You will, my gentleman?' Certainly he would. 'Well then, my gentleman, don't you remember coming into the tent, and sitting down a bit; then you got up, and went outside

[1] In the South Place Institute, Finsbury, London, on 19th January 1890.

[2] Published by T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, London: Demy, 10s. 6d.

with one of the boys to have a look round the camp, but you left your umbrella behind, with your name and address on it?' So there was *that* mystery solved."

Another anecdote, quaint witness to the decay of minstrelsy among the Gypsies of England, is thus related by Mr. Groome:—

"I know an estate in Norfolk, where there were great rejoicings when the son and heir came of age, and his father, Lord Omnium, promised a sovereign to every Gypsy fiddler who should put in an appearance. Twenty appeared, each man with his violin, and a grand show they made as they played all together, standing in a semicircle. 'But,' one of them told me years afterwards, 'there were only twelve on 'em really knew how to fiddle; the rest of us had soaped our fiddle-strings, so as not to make no noise when we drew the bow over them. But we each got the sovereign.'"

Yet another extract may be permitted. It is not quaint; it is not humorous; but beautifully sad and pathetic. I do not think our readers will grudge the space occupied by the tender scene with which Mr. Groome closed his lecture: a lovely picture, in an exquisite setting.

"I should have liked to tell you more about Gypsy life, that life which the song says is a merry one. And so it is; but even Gypsies die, and, therefore, their life is not without its sorrows. Eight years ago come May, a letter reached me in Edinburgh from old Lementina Lovell. There is never very much in Gypsies' letters beyond loves and greetings, and such like. This letter was no exception; it ended thus: 'Lancelot [her youngest son] sends his duty, and would take it very kind in you to look in, if so be as you are round this way, for he is dying.' As luck would have it, I had nothing just then on hand, and was wanting a holiday; so I started that night for Loamshire. Next morning, exactly at sunrise, I reached the little roadside station, from which I had twelve miles to walk to the Lovells' encampment. It was a delicate, clear morning, sweet with the scent of hawthorn and hyacinth. As I walked, I heard my first cuckoo on the right hand—sure omen of coming good; down into the valley, where lies the sleepy little town of Clun, and up out of the valley on to the hills which separate England from Wales, and on which, as I knew, the Lovells were encamped. I had still half a mile to go, when a Gypsy child met me—little Anselo Lovell, nephew to Lancelot. I said that all Gypsies know the Gypsy language. This child is the one exception—*he* is deaf and dumb. Yet already, at six, he had invented an odd sign-language of his own; its sign for me the twirling an imaginary moustache. And now in that strange sign-language he tried to acquaint me with his uncle's state, then ran on ahead to tell them I was coming. At the camp I found a multitude of Gypsies, for all Lancelot's brothers and sisters, with their wives, and husbands, and children, had gathered from every airt to see him go. All through that day they kept coming, the last the grandmother, a little old, old woman, who had journeyed a hundred miles. She came into the tent where Lancelot lay, sat down on the earth, and, covering her head with her mantle, said: '*Kino shom, chawollé*' (Little children, I am weary). And all that day lay Lancelot, dreamy, but conscious, wholly free from pain. Towards evening he said to his elder brother, Pyramus: 'Play to me.'

"How well I remember the scene!

"The tents were pitched upon the western hill-slope. Beside them ran Offa's Dike, reared centuries before to keep out the Welsh marauders; the silver Taem flowed beneath; and beyond stretched the beautiful Welsh country, all shimmering through the soft blue wood-smoke of the fire that smouldered outside. Some sat within the tent, but more on the turf without—the children awestruck, puzzled. The sinking sun slanted through the tent-opening, and lighted up Lancelot's face, which was lighted up, too, by happy recollections. For Pyramus, the cunning fiddler, was

playing the dear old Welsh melodies. First, the 'March of the Men of Harlech,' and then from its stirring tones he slid imperceptibly into the tender 'Shepherd of Snowdon.' And as he played he wept, the big, strong man. 'Play that again, my Pyramus,' said Lancelot. And Pyramus did play it again, but not quite to the end, for, as the last bar opened, Lancelot died. Then there was lamentation in the tents of Egypt."

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

No. 747; *being the Autobiography of a Gypsy* is a square 8vo volume of 459 pages, and contains an account of the life of Samson Loveridge, as put into literary form by F. W. Carew, M.D., and published at London by Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., price 7s. 6d. It purports to have been written in "Moorport" Convict Prison while the author, under the care of Dr. Carew, the Prison Surgeon, was recovering from injuries "accidentally on purpose" caused by fellow-convicts. On his release he emigrated to Melbourne, and was doing well as a horse-dealer according to the last accounts of him.

We have been unable, as the book only reached us as we were going to press, to do more than glance through it. The editor, or author, appears to have a knowledge at first hand of the Gypsies of the South and West of England, and the Romanes, which is sprinkled over almost every page, bears all the indications of having been drawn from original sources. We also notice here and there a word of *Shelta*, such as *tograms*, skewers; *pratting ken*, lodging-house; *granny*, to know; *myliers*, fingers; and pp. 409-419 contain some additions to the vocabulary. As a specimen of the Romanes, we may quote from page 330—"Shoonta tu! Chicklo bengesko sap! Pau mi deari Doovel's rawt, agal tu shon koorickni poorodearer, juckalesti maus velessa, soomgarenna te i tuki zeeiaw. Kanau, 'kooshto bok' mi fino Ress!" and from page 333: "Bostramenga, mi chavvies! Bostramenga! Kosher yuv tuley. Siklo, siklo, pau mi Doovel's kaum! Komeni vellela shian. Kooshto, mi chavvies, kooshto! Chin de rawtfelo jooko's gurlo, ta vust leste aley de kor. Kai se o churi?" The adventures chronicled are various, and will be read with interest.

H. T. C.

Les Débuts de l'Immigration des Tsiganes, a pamphlet of 31 pages (Paris: A. Hennuyer, Oct. 1890), is a condensation by M. Paul Bataillard of much of the information already contributed by him to our *Journal*, and is a reprint of the paper read by him before the *Société d'Anthropologie* on 3d April 1890. Every page is rich in detail, and this little brochure would itself form an imperishable memorial of the skill and patience displayed by our eminent fellow-member in piecing together the results gleaned from that long and continuous historical research for which he is so highly distinguished among Gypsy scholars.

Gypsies: Some Curious Investigations Collected, Translated, or Reprinted from various Sources concerning this peculiar Race, by J. Watts de Peyster (Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1887), is a pamphlet of 61 pages, "reprinted by special permission." Four-sixths of it is a translation, made seemingly more than forty years ago, of the article "Gypsies" in Zedler's *Grosses Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (Leip. 1749). In this there is nothing more curious than the statement that the Gypsies in the Coburg territories, "when asked how they make a living, answer, partly by horse-dealing, partly by begging, partly also from their pay, which they get in bills of exchange sent out of Little Egypt by the emperor of Turkey, over the Red Sea to the Roman emperor, and by the latter commonly transmitted by the Messrs. Fugger of Augsburg." If one could fix the date of this most amazing answer, it would not be without interest. For the rest, this brochure has little value.

Norwood and Dulwich: Past and Present (London, 1890) contains, as might be expected, several references to "The Norwood Fortune-Tellers," though nothing that may be called new. It has also a plate of the "Old Gypsy House, Norwood," a tavern which had for sign a portrait of Margaret Finch, a once celebrated "Queen." (In these degenerate days the sign has vanished, and the tavern is a modern public-house, though still bearing the old name.)

The (London) *Antiquary*, of November 1890, has a reference to a once notorious Gypsy of the North of England, named Winter, who was hanged in 1791 for the murder of an old woman. His gibbet, known as "Winter's Gibbet," is still standing.

There has recently appeared "*Le Tarot* (*i.e.* Ital. *tarocchi*, or fortune-telling cards) *des Bohémiens*," by Papus.[1] It announces the *Tarot* as "le plus ancien livre du monde," and this work treats very thoroughly of a subject which exercises a strong fascination over those who have a passion for the occult science. A smaller and more superficial work on the same subject is *The Tarot: its occult meaning and use in Divination, with the mode of playing the Game* (London: George Redway), by Mr. S. MacGregor Mathers.

The Allahabad *Pioneer* and *Pioneer Mail* of 10th September last contained an article (for copies of which we have to thank several of our members in India) on the subject of "Indian Gypsies," by a writer, "apparently from the Lower Provinces of Bengal," observes Capt. R. C. Temple. This article elicited a notice in the same journals, in the following week, relative to the work of our Society, by W. F. P. (Colonel Prideaux). Our limited space prevents us at present from

[1] Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., London; price 9s.

referring more particularly to the article, and to Captain Temple's instructive remarks thereon. Mrs. E. R. Pennell has a pleasant paper on "Gypsies and Gypsying," in the Christmas number of *Wide Awake* (Boston, U.S.), containing several illustrations. Of these, the most interesting, because of its unusual character, is the very pretty picture of "Charlotte Stanley, the Gypsy Princess." "This interesting portrait of the little Gypsy princess, is reproduced in photographic facsimile from the original water-colour, painted nearly half a century ago by the Royal Academy engraver, J. H. Robinson, and recently purchased by *Wide Awake* from its late owner, George Wakeling, Esq., Librarian of the Carlton Club, London. On the reverse of the quaint frame are the two following inscriptions:—'Portrait of Charlotte Stanley, a Gypsy Princess, by J. H. Robinson, George Street, Euston Square.' 'This Portrait of his Daughter was presented by King Stanley to Mrs. George Fry, of Greendale, Woodbury, Devon, 1845.'" Mr. H. T. Crofton, who has seen the original picture, states: "It is a pretty water-colour drawing, about 9 inches long by 7 inches tall, and shows on the right Her Royal Highness, aged about four or five, dressed in white, with blue shoulder ribbons and blue shoes, sitting down with one arm round a white greyhound, which is on the left of the picture. The child's hair is flaxen, and the complexion and features light." This last statement is perplexing; and, indeed, were it not for the inscription, one would never think, on looking at the picture, but what it represented a child of gentle parentage and of fair-skinned stock.

Not only this Society, but the whole civilised world, has recently had to mourn the death of our distinguished fellow-member, Sir Richard Francis Burton. Of the many events of his eventful life it is needless to speak here. As soldier, explorer, linguist, and man of letters (the writer of "about eighty more or less bulky volumes") he made himself separately famous. "His most famed achievement—the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina in the character of an Afghan Muslim"—was, says one writer, "an achievement of the first order. To consider it without a wondering admiration is impossible: so vast is the amount involved of hardihood and self-confidence, of linguistic skill and histrionic genius, of resourcefulness and vigilance and resolve."

But the aspect in which he may most suitably be regarded in these pages is that of a student of the Gypsies, to whom he was affiliated by nature, if not actually by right of descent. In this connection the following remarks by his biographer[1] may aptly be quoted:—

[1] Mr Francis Hitchman; *Richard F. Burton, K.C.M.G.*, 2 vols., London, 1887, vol. i. pp. 20, 21.

"Whether there may not be also a tinge of Arab, or perhaps of Gypsy blood in Burton's race is a point which is perhaps open to question. For the latter suspicion an excuse may be found in the incurable restlessness which has beset him since his infancy, a restlessness which has effectually prevented him from ever settling long in any one place, and in the singular idiosyncrasy which his friends have often remarked—the peculiarity of his eyes. 'When it (the eye) looks at you,' says one who knows him well, 'it looks through you, and then, glazing over, seems to see something behind you. Richard Burton is the only man (not a Gypsy) with that peculiarity, and he shares with them the same horror of a corpse, deathbed scenes, and graveyards, though caring little for his own life.' When to this remarkable fact be added the scarcely less interesting detail that 'Burton' is one of the half-dozen distinctively Romany names, it is evident that the suspicion of Sir Richard Burton having a drop of Gypsy blood in his descent—crossed and commingled though it be with an English, Scottish, French, and Irish strain—is not altogether unreasonable."

Unreasonable or not, it can hardly be said that this constitutes a firm basis on which to rear a theory of Gypsy lineage. Yet Burton himself acknowledged a certain Gypsy connection, though, it will be noticed, he does not say the affinity was that of blood, in the following extract from a letter to Mr. J. Pincherle, accepting that gentleman's dedication of his Romani version of the "Song of Songs" (*I Ghilén-gheri Ghilia Salomuneskero*). "Dear Mr. Pincherle," writes Sir Richard, "I accept the honour of your dedication with the same frankness with which you accompanied its offer. And indeed I am not wholly dissociated from this theme: there is an important family of Gypsies in foggy England, who, in very remote times, adopted our family name. I am yet on very friendly terms with several of these strange people; nay, a certain Hagar Burton, an old fortune-teller (*divinatrice*) took part in a period of my life (?) which in no small degree contributed to determine its course."

Whether such slight indications as these really point to a Gypsy line of descent or not, there can be no question as to the interest which Sir Richard Burton took in Gypsy lore. Apart from his various well-known published accounts of the Jats and other tribes of the Indus Valley, he had a work specially entitled "The Gypsies," which his biography of 1887 announces as then "in course of preparation." The materials of this work are now, we understand, in the possession of Lady Burton, and we trust that they will some day see the light. Sir Richard was himself one of the original members of the Gypsy Lore Society, in which he always took a deep interest; and a letter which he wrote to the Secretary, only five days before his death, concludes with the good wish—"All luck to the Society: I will not fail to do what little I can."

His death, which was very sudden, took place on 20th October last, while he still held the office of British Consul at Trieste. The

high esteem in which he was held by the citizens of Trieste, not only on account of his official position and the great name which he had made for himself in the world of science, but also for those personal qualities which had won their regard, is amply testified by the sincere expressions of regret which accompanied the last honours there paid to his memory. At the time of his death Sir Richard Burton was sixty-nine years of age, having been born at Barham House, Hertfordshire, on the 19th of March 1821.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

I.

A Family of Shelta-speaking and Romani-speaking Highland Tinkers.

I spent the month of August this year (1890) at Crinan Harbour, in Argyllshire, and there came, for a few moments, across a family of "Tinklers," who are, I fancy, worth following up for the sake of getting from them a stock of words. I was one morning on my way to the post-office at Crinan, and, lying at the slip in front of the office, I saw a good-sized boat, which I knew did not belong to the place. I crossed the road and went down to see who the owners were. To my surprise, I found they were a party of "Tinklers." On questioning them they told me that they always went about in this manner, sailing from place to place on the West Coast and among the Islands, making and mending pots and pans. They had just put in for provisions, and were on the point of sailing for Scarba. The boat was a good-sized fishing-smack, three-quarter decked, rigged, if I remember rightly, with a big lug-sail and jib, and a small lug aft, but on this point I am not quite certain.

The party consisted of three men and two women, with two or three children. They were stunted in appearance, and quite young; the women reddish-haired, the men rather darker.

On a venture, I asked whether they spoke "Shelta," as I was anxious to learn something of this language, of which I knew nothing. One of the men said that they did speak it, and, on being questioned, gave the names of several common objects mentioned by me. Unfortunately, I had neither pencil nor paper with me and was therefore unable to make any notes, and, the words being entirely strange to me, I could not retain them. The only word I can remember is *yergan* = "tin." One of the men suddenly said, "But we have another language, which I do not think any one knows but ourselves; it is not in any books."

"What do you call a 'boat' in your language?" I said. To my great astonishment, he replied, "*Bero.*" On my then asking for the words for "man," "woman," and "child," he gave *mush* or *gairo*, *monisha*, and *chavo*. Feeling now tolerably sure of my ground, I said, "*Kushto bero se duvo.*" He stared at me as if I had been a ghost, and, on my continuing with a few more words, he called to one of the women in the boat and said, "Come here; I never saw anything like this. Here is a gentleman knows our language as well as we know it ourselves." I continued asking the names of various common objects, such as *fire*, *water*, the *names of animals*, *parts of the body*, etc., and soon noticed that for each they had two or three names, one being always good "Rommanis," the other, I presume, "Shelta." But my surprise was greatest when, on asking the name for a "hen," the answer was "*moorghee*," and then, as an afterthought, "*kanni*." Now, can any one tell me where they got this word *moorghee* from? I have never met with it among any "Rommani foki" of my acquaintance, but know it only as the common Hindustani name for a fowl. Is it an old word which has been lost by others, but retained by this family? Or have they picked it up from some one of their number who has been in India soldiering?

Another surprise was in store for me. On asking them where they got this language from, one of the men said, "We got it from our grandfather. He could speak it much better than we can," and then volunteered the information that this grandfather was a keeper to the Duke of Argyll, and had supplied Campbell of Islay with many of the *Sgeulachdan* in his Highland Tales.

This must be either the John M'Donald, travelling tinker, referred to by Mr. MacRitchie in his article on the "Irish Tinkers and their Language" (Oct. 1889, page 354), or a relation of his. An account of this family will be found in the notes to the tale of the "Brown Bear of the Green Glen" (*Popular Tales*, vol. i. pp. 174-175). It mentions that the father had served in the Forty-Second. Had he brought back this word *moorghee* with him from India? One of the sons is mentioned as being a keen sportsman. No hint is given, however, of their knowing any language but Gaelic. It would probably have astonished Campbell of Islay to find that they were masters of four tongues—Gaelic, Shelta, English, and Rommanis. It may be noticed that the accounts of occupation do not quite tally, as these tinklers distinctly stated that their grandfather was one of Argyll's keepers. I should like to know whether any of the sons did actually hold such a post.

This is all I could learn in an interview of, at the most, twenty minutes. I hope some of our members in the West of Scotland may be more successful, and that they will send to the *Journal* a list of all the words, both of Rommanis and of Shelta, that they may gather. D. Fearon Ranking.

2.

An Italian Gypsy Song.

This is a very trifling lyric, and quite undeserving the beautiful air, and, I may add, the voice, execution, and droll action with which it was accompanied. The singer, who had learned it from a Romagnola Gypsy—*i.e.* one in the Romagna Toscana—also wrote it out for me, which may account for the fact that it is not "in choice Italian."

Le Zingare.

"Le Zingare Boeme beiate sono, affé,
Filina e la stessa che á piu snello il pié.
O Zingare beiate amundo siete,
Amate e pago avete il cor.

"Sono Filina e sono assai bella
Sono la regina delle fate,
Quante Zingare beiate
Che ci sono più di me?

"Zingarella amata, ámata,
Botta di lauro tu sei nata.
E di rose cofugi gata,
Zingarella amata, amata."

The Gypsy Girls.

"Oh, the Bohemian Gypsies are merry girls and sweet,
Filina is the very one who's nimblest on her feet.
Oh, ye happy Gypsy girls, on love ye're ever bent;
And as ye're ever loving, your hearts are aye content.

"'I am Filina, none prettier can be seen,
And of all the fairies I am the only queen,
Many merry Gypsies in this world may be,
But of all the Gypsies none so gay you see.'

"Merry little Gypsy, darling mine;
Thou art a basket of laurel so fine,
Stuck full of roses which with dewdrops shine,
Merry little Gypsy, sweetheart mine!"

Florence, Dec. 20th, 1890. Charles G. Leland.

All Contributions must be legibly written on one side only of the paper, must bear the sender's name and address, though not necessarily for publication, and must be sent to D. MacRitchie, Esq., 4 Archibald Pl., Edinburgh.

During the month of March, correspondents are requested to write to F. H. Groome, Esq., 339 High Street, Edinburgh.

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APRIL 1891.

Contents.

PAGE

I. SHELTA. By CHARLES G. LELAND, ... 321

II. *O PHŪRO SASOS.* A Slovak-Gypsy Tale. By Professor RUDOLF VON SOWA, ... 323

III. THE WITCH. A Polish Gypsy Folk-Tale. By Professor ISIDORE KOPERNICKI, ... 327

IV. SCOTTISH GYPSIES UNDER THE STEWARTS. By DAVID MACRITCHIE, ... 334

V. NOTES ON THE GYPSIES OF RUSSIA. By VLADISLAV KORNEL DE ZIELIŃSKI, . . . 363

VI. AN EPISODE FROM THE LIFE OF SIR RICHARD BURTON. By LADY BURTON, . 365

VII. REVIEWS of Mr. C. G. LELAND'S *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune-Telling;* and of Dr. H. VON WLISLOCKI'S *Volksdichtungen der Siebenbürgischen und Südungarischen Zigeuner.* By THOMAS DAVIDSON, . 367

NOTES AND QUERIES, ... 377

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JOURNAL OF THE

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SOCIETY.

VOL. II. APRIL 1891. No. 6

I.—SHELTA.

THERE is an old Tuscan legend to the effect that a man who was a student of *stregoneria* or sorcery, but who had not got beyond the rudiments of the art, once undertook to summon a *lasa*—a small family spirit, or ghost of an ancestor—but by mistake he got hold of the name of the great and terrible *folletto* or Spirit of Thunder and Storm. And when it appeared he was naturally terribly frightened, and exclaimed: "*Santo grande*, I reverence thee in fear, but I did not mean to summon *thee*." To which the spirit replied: "Thou *hast* summoned me—what am I to do?" And the sorcerer replied, not knowing what else to say: "Please smash that *pentola*" (earthenware pot). And there came a tremendous clap of thunder and a flash of lightning—and the pot *was* smashed to *smithereens*.

When I discovered from a tramp in Bath that there was such a jargon as Shelta, when I learned subsequently in Aberystwith that it was extensively spoken, and subsequently in Philadelphia from the tinker Owen Macdonald that it was really a language, which was, as he declared, very ancient, I still had no idea of what it really was. The contributions of Mr. Sampson and Professor Kuno Meyer to the *Journal* of our Society have been to me like the apparition of the spirit to the journeyman magician. To say that I am astonished to find that Shelta is an old Bardic tongue, "once possessed by Irish poets and scholars," is to say the least. I am not a proficient in Celtic, but, like the lady who had never seen Niagara, I have "heard it very highly spoken of," and have a great respect for it. Something,

however, occurs to me. My idea may be more curious than useful, but there may possibly be something in it.

It was suggested by a reviewer of my book on *The Gypsies*, that possibly Shelta—or *Sheldrū* as Professor Meyer corrects it—was a language peculiar to the old craft of bronze-workers and jewellers who roamed about in companies all over the northern world. There is some reason to believe that these men occupied a very high position in culture. The subjects of their work indicate a deep knowledge of mythology and magic. The complicated *interlaces* of their designs were intended to avert the evil eye, for it was believed that a witch when she once saw such a pattern must follow it out, and so the influence of the *fascinatio*, which always struck at the first glance, was avoided.

All of this indicates the mere possibility that the bronze-workers —the ancestors of the tinkers—had secrets in common with the scholars or bards, and learned from them a secret language. And as Shelta or Ogham was perhaps the easiest of the dialects, being in the nature of back-slang, it may have been the one adopted. This is indeed guess-work—but it was really from a mere guess, from what the tramp of Bath told me, that I made sure that the dialect existed, and so followed it up.

The work of Mr. Sampson and Professor Kuno Meyer cannot be overpraised or overrated. It must find place in all great works on philology. It has apparently proved that the mysterious old Ogham language of the bards still exists. Was it allied to the secret tongue of the Druids? Was there an Ogham in England as in Armorica? It may be, and it is as well worth looking into as laughing at. Only yesterday I learned from a fortune-teller that one of the formulas which are to be pronounced before consulting the cards is, *Crisi-crasi-concrasi.* In the work *De Medicamentis* of Marcellus Burdigalensis, who wrote in the fourth century, these very words are given as part of a charm for a sore throat. So it has come down—the old Etruscan Roman spell, from curing a disorder to card-divination. And so Shelta may have descended from Druids to tinkers.

I beg leave to mention that though I did not trace back Shelta to its fountain source, I conjectured, with deep conviction, that it was a river, and not a puddle, nor even a pond; that is to say, I stated my belief that it was an ancient tongue, and not a modern jargon. The assurances of Macdonald that it was really a very ancient language, differing from Irish or Gaelic, and not a slang or jargon, influenced me, because tradition is generally of value among such

people, and my informant was perfectly familiar with the difference between a jargon and a tongue, being familiar with everything spoken on the roads, as well as Welsh, Irish, Gaelic, and Romany. Which is nothing remarkable or even uncommon among men of his class.

A propos of Shelta, I would relate an anecdote. Owen Macdonald, this half Gypsy tinker from whom I had learned it, was called *Pat* by all who knew him. One day, after the publication of *The Gypsies*, I looked out of my window to see a procession passing by, and by chance he stood just near me. I addressed him:—

"Pat, ye divil. Do ye know what the *Satherday Review* says av yees?"

[I am not sure that it *was* the *Saturday*—but it will do.]

"An' what 'ull it be afther sayin'?" replied Owen, as gravely as if to be commented on in the leading reviews was a daily occurrence to him.

"It says that ye passed off ould Irish an me for *Shelta*."

Without moving a muscle he answered:—

"An' what would I be afther makin' two languages av them for, if there was only *wan* av thim?"

Professor Meyer has shown that Owen was right, and that there were indeed two languages instead of "wan av thim." And he has shown it so well, and with such a wealth of illustration, that I sincerely trust that he will continue his researches, and give the results in a book on this Lost Language of the Bards. Every person of Celtic descent who has any real interest or pride in his ancestry should, I think, desire to possess such a work, and I may add to this, every student of philology, since he has shown his ability to make it really valuable. And I would express a sincere hope at the same time that John Barlow may be induced to record all that he knows of the language, and specially to write or dictate such stories or poems as he remembers in it. Should a subscription be needed to effect this, I doubt not that it would be forthcoming. For the importance of preserving such relics of the past as this really can not be exaggerated. CHARLES G. LELAND.

FLORENCE, *Jan.* 5, 1891.

II.—O PHÚRO SASOS.

A SLOVAK GYPSY TALE.

O Phúro Sasos.	THE OLD SOLDIER.
Ehas yekh sasos igen phúro, you has desh-u-dui bersh sasoske. Pále	THERE was a very old soldier; he was twelve years in military ser-

phuchlyas o obrshtos lestar: Ax mro lácho mánush, so tu kames, hoi mange atsi bersh adai solgárines? So kames mandar, me tut dava, hoi mange ketsi bersh láches kerehas, dava tut shukáre grastes párnes he dava tut trin báre thuvále, so tuke piyeha, auka sar yekh rai; dava tut trin máre pr-o drom. Shoha mange auka na-has láches tselo kompanyia har tu mange salas. Sluzhba tuke has bereno tuke-mukavas savoro pre tute, hoi tu mange zaopatrinehas havori varta.

vice. Then the colonel asked him, My good man, what do you wish for having served me so many years here? Whatever you wish I shall give you, for you have served me well so many years. I shall give you a fine white horse and give you three big tobacco pipes, so that you will smoke like a gentleman. I shall give you three rolls for your journey. The whole company never served as well as you served me. You have been charged with the service. I committed anything to you, for you have performed every sentry.

Kana javas kére pre urlyava me igen rovávas; sar me tumen mukava mre láche manusha? uzh me jau yekhvár kére, buter tumen na dikava, hen man nane niko okrem mro devel, he láche manusha. Ale somas sasos lácho feleblos pre savori kompanyia; poruchinde mange o mayoris shukáre grastes párne, kai me te jau kére. Ax devla, imár me jau, ale nane man but love, chak chulo.

If I should go home on furlough, I should weep much; how shall I leave you, my good comrades? Now I go home, and shall never see you again. I have none except my God and you good men. I was a good soldier, a sergeant commanding the whole company. The major committed to me a fine white horse, that I may go home with it. O God, already I am going, but I have not much money, only a little.

Kai you avlyas ande báre vesha, avlyas yekh zhebrákos he mangel peske (har kudushis) sasostar. You leske phendyas, o sasos: Ax devla, so tut dava? me som chóro sasos dikes, akanak me jau báre droma, hoi mange náne pháro vódyi. Ale, uzhár kudushi, me dava tut yekh máro. Pále leske phendyas: (uzhár chúlo) ach devleha! Kai pes ilyas o isto zhebrákos ki-o sasos, papáles

When he came into great forests, there came a beggar and begged something from the soldier. The soldier said to him: O God, what shall I give you? I am a poor soldier, you see; now I am to wander a long way, for I have not a heavy heart. But, wait a little, O beggar; I will give you a roll. Then he said to him, Farewell! Afterwards the same

lestar mangel. Ax saso mro, de man vareso, obdarin man varesoha! Sar me tut obdarinavas, kana me uzh dinyom shtáren kudushen? Ale uzhár, hen tut dava, le ake dui néve, he pi tuke labardyi.

beggar came to the soldier and begged of him again: O my soldier, give me something, make me a present!—How should I make you a present? I have given already something to four beggars. But wait, I will give you these two kreuzers, so that you may drink brandy.

Láches, gélyas dúreder. Papáles chak les aver trito zhebrákos (vai kudushis) stretnyindyas (le sasos) papáles lestar mangel. Ax, phendyas leske, ax devla me som choro sasos, nane man nyiko chak (tu the) mro devel. Navla man nyiko, chak me korkoro; man n-avla lóve, man n-avla nisht pash mande; me tumenge havoro dava, ax devla, so me choro kerava? me som phúro sasos (choro mánush), kai me aso choro lava akanak? Tumenge dau sovóro th-o máro th-o lóve the mre párne grastes, akanak java kokóro pre mre phúre xéra. Ta na buter man dikna shoha, hoi me somas sasos. Akanak achen mre sounakune devleha!

Well, he went away. Then he met with a third beggar, and this begged him again. Alas! he said to him, O God, I am a poor soldier, I have none except my God, and shall have none except myself (?). I shall have no money, I shall have nothing with me; I shall give you all. O God, what shall I do? I am an old soldier, whence shall I now get (somewhat), being so poor? I give you all the bread, the money and my white horse. Now I shall wander alone on my old legs. It will never be recognised (?) that I was a soldier. Now be with my golden God. (Farewell!)

Thus far goes the fragment of the story, which was one of the first tales obtained from A. Facsuna. There are some difficult passages, which I tried to correct, thus:—*Hoi mange ketsi bersh*, etc. I had noted: *so kames mange*, etc. *Sluzhba leske has bereno.* The Gypsy said: *Sluzhba mange has*, etc. *Kana javas kére pre urlyava.* I noted *jalas* instead of *javas*; *Kai you avlyas ande báre vesha.* The story-teller said: *kai me avlyom ande b.*, etc.

The lamentations of the old soldier, which conclude that fragment, are a specimen of Gypsy garrulity; they were not confined to what I wrote above, but the speaker repeated a good deal of them when he did not know how to continue the tale.

Afterwards the same Gypsy lad was induced to repeat the story,

and did so in a somewhat different manner; this latter version I published in the original in my *Grammar of the Slovak-Gypsy Dialect.* I remark that in both versions almost the same confusion is found in the passage where the meeting with the beggar (or beggars) is reported.

In the latter version the story goes on thus:—

At last the beggar said to the soldier: "Old soldier, I permit you to ask whatever you want, for I am God." The soldier answered: "I want nothing else, but give me such a stick as, when I say 'Beat' will beat every man and need fear none." God gave him that. "Now, tell me what else do you want?" "Give me still such a sack, if I say to a man 'Go in,' he must go forthwith." "Well, but you may still ask for a third gift; but consider well, so that you may have a help from God in your old days." "I want nothing but such a sack, money may fall out of it when I shake it." God gave him that too, and went off.

He went further, and came into a town; there he went into an inn, where were many countrymen and all sorts of other people. He sat down at the table and ordered victuals and drink. The innkeeper brought him forthwith somewhat to eat; but when he had eaten and drunk, he asked him to pay. He seized the sack, shook it, and when he seized it nothing but golden coins fell into his hand. So he gave all of them to the landlord and went away. The landlord was very glad that he had received so much money. The soldier, going further, came into a vast forest. There were twenty-four robbers; they there kept an inn, and sold what you would. He went in and ordered victuals and brandy to drink; forthwith they brought him brandy which was as strong as iron. When he drank he became drunk. "Now, pay!" they said. He took the sack from his side, and shook out from it so many golden coins and took them in his hand. He gave them to the robbers—but he did not know they were robbers. When he paid for all, they wondered that he shook such a sack, went into another room, and four of them held the soldier. Two shook the sack, and as much fell down from it as they wanted. They informed their chief, seized the soldier, killed him, and cut him in pieces; then they hung the body on a nail like that of an ox.

But let it be so. When he came into paradise, God permitted him to rest there—but not for a long time. "You, Peter," he ordered, "go to that old soldier, and ask him what he has to do here." Well, he went to him. "What have you to do here?" "I want

nothing but the glory from God." "I shall ask God if he will let you stay here." He went to God and said: "O God, that old soldier asks you for the glory." "Go to the devils; say to them, they may seize him all of them, may rend him into pieces, and put as much wood as possible under the pot, so that he may be roasted excessively. Well, they roasted the pieces of him, but then threw him out, for he struck them so that he broke their bones. Again, God sent Death for him, but even he was beaten.—He is dead and putrefied, and we are alive.

To which I have but to add that another Gypsy, with whom I conversed on Gypsy folk-tales, said that the above story should be much longer. He told me in Slovak that Death would not repeat his visit to the soldier; God at last finished his existence by sending him so much vermin that he must have died.

RUDOLF VON SOWA.

III.—THE WITCH.

A POLISH GYPSY FOLK-TALE.

THERE was once a nobleman who had a very handsome son. The nobleman desired that his son should marry, but there was nobody whom he would wed. Young ladies of every kind were assembled, but not one of them would he have. For ten years he lived with his father. One time, in a dream, he bethought himself that he ought to go and travel. He went away far out into the world; and for ten years he was absent from his home. He reflected, and—"What have I to do?" he asked himself: "I will return to my father." He returned home in rags, and all lean with wretchedness, so that his father was ashamed of him. He remained with him for three months.

One time he dreamt that in the middle of a field there was a lovely sheet of water, and that in this little lake three beautiful damsels were bathing. Next morning he arose and said to his father: "Rest you here, with the help of the good God, my father; for I am going afar into the world." His father gave him much money, and said to him: "If you do not wish to stay with me, go forth, with the help of God." He set out on his way, he came to this little lake, and there he saw three beautiful damsels bathing. He would have captured one of them, but these damsels had wings on their smocks,

by means of which they soared into the air and escaped from him. He went away, this nobleman's son, and said he to himself: "What shall I do now, poor wretch that I am?" and he began to weep bitterly. Then he sees an old man approaching him, and this old man asks of him: "Why do you weep, my lad?" "Oh, well do I know why I weep; there are three lovely damsels who bathe in that lake, but I am not able to capture them." "What do you wish, then?" asks this old man; "would you catch the whole three of them?" "No," he replied, "I only wish to catch one of them, the youngest one." "Very well, then, listen: I am going to dig a pit for you; whenever you see them coming for a swim, hide yourself in this hole, and there wait in silence. As soon as they have laid down their clothes, jump up and seize hold of the smock belonging to the youngest one. She will beg of you to give it up to her, but do not give it up!"

Well! these three damsels came; they took off their smocks, and laid each of them aside. The nobleman's son watched them from his pit; he jumped out; he seized hold of the smock belonging to the youngest one. She beseeches him to give it back to her, but he will not consent to do so. The two other sisters fly away with the good God, and he returns to his home with the young damsel. His father sees that he brings a beautiful damsel with him. Well! he marries her. They live together for five years. They had a very pretty young son. But as for the smock, which was furnished with wings, he caused a special room to be made, into which he locked it, and gave the key of the chamber to his mother to take care of. Madman that he was! he would have done better had he burned that smock.

One day he went out into the fields. Then his wife spoke thus to his mother: "Mother! five years now have I been here, and I do not know what there is in my husband's room, because he always keeps it hidden from me." Then the mother said to her: "Well! come with me, I am going to show it to you." "That is right, mother; I wish it much, because he ought not to hide anything from me, for I would not rob him of anything, to hand it over to the lads." She went with his mother into that room; she sees that her smock with the two wings is there. "Mother," said she, "may I again don this smock, that I may see whether I am still as beautiful as I once was?" "Very well, my daughter, put it on again; I do not forbid you." She put on the smock, and she said to his mother: "Remain here with the help of the good God, my mother; salute my husband

for me, and take good care of my child, for you will never see me more." Then she sped away with the good God, and returned home to the witch, her mother. Her husband came back to the house and asked of his mother: "Where has my wife gone?" "My son, she went into that room there, she once more put on a certain smock, she sent her farewell greeting to you, and asked me to take care of her child, for she would not see us more." "Well! I am going away in quest of her." He took a lot of money with him; he set out, and journeyed forth with the help of the good God.

He came to a miller's house. The miller had a mill, where they ground corn for this witch. Well! the nobleman's son asked this miller to hide him in a sack, to cover him with meal, and to fasten him securely into the sack. "I will pay you for this service," said he to the miller. Well! as soon as he had hidden him in the sack and fastened it, four devils came; each of them took a sack, but the first of these, the one in which the nobleman's son was concealed, was very heavy. This devil took the sack, he threw it upon his back, he set out on his road, and went away with the good God (*sic*!). They went to the abode of the witch and laid down their sacks. The next day there was to be a wedding there. Who should happen to come to this first sack but his wife! "What are you doing here?" "Well! I have come here to take you away." "Meanwhile, my mother is going to kill you." Her mother, having heard with whom she was speaking, entered and recognised him. "So, then, it is you who are so clever, and who has stolen away my daughter! Listen, then: you shall have her as your wife if you perform for me the feats which I shall lay upon you." She gave him food and drink; he went to bed.

Next day he got up, and the witch arose also and said to him: "Hearken: I have here a great forest, three hundred leagues in extent; you must uproot for me every tree, cut them into bits, arrange these pieces in piles, the logs on one side and the brushwood on the other. If you do not do that for me, I will cut off your head." She gave him a wooden axe and a wooden spade. He set out, he went away to the forest. He came to this forest; he saw that it was very large. "What can I do here, unhappy that I am, with the wooden axe and the wooden spade that she has given me?" He struck a blow with the axe upon a tree, and the axe broke. "What am I going to do now, wretch that I am?" He cowered down upon the ground, and fell a-weeping. He sees his wife come, and she brings him something to eat and drink. "Why do you weep?" asks

his wife. "How can I refrain from weeping, when your mother has given me an axe and a spade of wood, and I have already broken them both." "Hush, then, do not weep, all will go well; only eat and be filled." He ate and was filled. "Come, now, I am going to louse your head."[1] He went to her, he laid his head in her lap, and he fell asleep. His wife put her fingers into her mouth and whistled.[2] A great number of devils came to her. "What is it that the great lady demands of us?" "That this entire forest be cut down, and that the logs be set in piles on one side, and the brushwood on the other; each kind must be ranged in separate piles." The devils set themselves to this task, and cut down the whole forest, so that not a stick of it remained standing, and all the wood was arranged in piles. His wife then awoke him: "Get up now." He arose; he saw the whole forest was cut down, and that each kind of wood was arranged in lots. He is rejoiced; he returns to the house before night. The mother, this witch, asks him: "Have you finished already?" "Yes," he replied, "I have finished." She went out to see: the whole forest was indeed felled, and each kind of wood was arranged in piles. At that she was much mortified. Well! she gave him some food; he satisfied himself, and lay down to sleep.

The following morning she arose, this witch, and said to him: "I will give my daughter to you as wife if you cause my forest to become again what it was before, with every leaf in its proper place again; and if you do not do that for me, why, then, I will cut off your head." Well, he set out; he went on his way. He came to the forest. "What shall I do now, unhappy wretch that I am?" He tried to fasten a branch on to its own trunk, and the branch fell off again. He bowed himself to the ground and wept. His wife came to him and brought him food. "Why do you cry so, like a calf?" "How can I help weeping, when your mother has made me cut down this forest, and now she commands me to restore this same forest so that each leaf shall be again in its proper place on the tree?" "Do not weep any more then, and eat." He ate, he was satisfied.

[1] This disagreeable detail is referred to by the late Mr. J. F. Campbell in his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, where he remarks (i. 61) that the "giant" maidens of Gaelic tradition "dressed the hair of their lovers who laid their heads in their laps, as I have often seen black-haired Lapland ladies dress the hair of Lapland swains, and as ladies in popular tales of all lands always do." What Mr. Campbell euphemistically styles "dressing" the hair is explained by a "sketch from nature, made on the Tana river, on the Russian bank, in 1850," which he reproduces on page 283 of his fourth volume; where he still further makes his meaning clear by quoting the description of a like scene in a Norwegian folk-tale ("page 153, Norske folke eventyr. 1852").—[ED.]

[2] This method of whistling (by which the sound is carried to a great distance) is nowadays peculiar to the lower classes, although it is stated to have been a custom that the noble lords and knights of mediæval times did not despise.—[ED.]

"Come, let me louse your head." He lay down on her lap and went to sleep. Then she whistled, and the devils appeared in great numbers. "What do you demand of us, my lady?" "I demand that my forest be restored to its former condition, so that each leaf may be on its own tree." Well, the devils set to work and restored everything, so that every leaf was in its proper place. Then she awoke him. He got up, and saw the whole forest entire, as it had previously been. Quite overjoyed, he returned to the house before night. The mother asks him: "Have you finished already?" "Yes, I have finished." She went forth to see if it was true. There was her forest as it had been before. Then the mother said: "What are we to make of him now?" She gave him food and drink.

She arose next morning, this witch. "Hearken: you shall have my daughter as your wife if you do yet one more thing for me." "Very well, mother." "There is a very large pond here; you must drain it dry." "Willingly." "But beware of letting a single fish in it perish." She gave him a sieve with large holes. "This is what you must empty the pond with for me." He went to the pond, this nobleman's son; he lifted up a sieveful of water, which immediately streamed away. He flung the sieve to the devils. "If she had given me at least a bucket, I might perhaps have managed to empty this pond more quickly." Then he bowed himself down and began to weep. "Wretch that I am! what shall I do now?" He sees his wife come to him. "Why are you weeping again?" "Because your mother has given me a sieve with large holes, so that the water runs away at once." "Never mind, then, be quiet; do not weep any more; with God's help, all will go well." She gave him to eat and to drink; he then lay down on his wife's lap and slept. His wife whistled, and a great number of devils appeared before her. "What does her ladyship demand of us?" "I desire that all the water in this pond be drained away, without a single fish in it dying." The devils set themselves to the task; the pond was soon empty, and not one fish in it died. When he arose, he saw that there was no longer any water in the pond, and that the fish in it remained alive. Filled with joy, he went away to the house. "Have you finished already?" asked the witch of him. "Yes, mother, I have done it already." Well she went away out to see. She sees that not a single drop of water remained in her pond, but that the fish, still living, were about to die for want of water. The witch having then returned home, said to herself: "What are we going to do with him? He has already performed three feats for me; I must yet make him

perform a fourth." She gave him some food and drink. He went to bed.

Next morning, when he had arisen, the witch said to him: "Hark ye, you shall have my daughter as your wife if you accomplish the following feat: my pond must be fuller than ever of water, and with more fish in it." Then he betook himself to the pond, this nobleman's son, and began to weep bitterly. "Unhappy that I am! what am I going to do now?" He sees his wife come, and that she brings him food. "Why are you weeping at such a rate? I have told you once already not to weep any more." He ate, he lay down, with his head in his wife's lap, and fell asleep. She whistled, and the devils appeared in great numbers. "What does her ladyship demand of us?" "I desire that my pond be again filled with water, and that it have more water and more fish than before." Well, she awoke him; he saw that the pond was full of water. He was quite delighted, and returned to the house. "Have you finished already?" asked the witch of him. "Yes, mother, I have finished." She goes out, and sees that the pond is full of water and fish. She comes into the house again, and says she to herself: "What are we going to do with him? However, he must be killed to-morrow." She gave him food and drink; thereafter he went to bed.

His wife came to him and said: "We must escape this very night. But, should our mother pursue us, I will then change myself into a lovely flower, and you shall change yourself into a beautiful meadow." "Very well." "And if you see that it is our father that pursues us, then I will change myself into a church, and you shall change yourself into an old man." "Well." "And if you perceive that it is our sister who is coming after us, then I shall have to change myself into a duck, and you must change yourself into a drake. But I shall no longer have the heart to restrain myself; she will beseech me: 'My darling sister! return to us!' Thus will she speak to me. Then must you, in your form of drake, allow her no rest, but beat her senseless with blows of your wings." "All right." Well, they set out, and took to flight.

After they had escaped, and had traversed a distance of a great many leagues, what do they see? the eldest sister coming after them. As soon as she perceived her, she said to her husband: "Change yourself into a beautiful meadow, and I will change myself into a pretty flower." The eldest sister came up, and having found nobody, she said to herself, "In the midst of such miserable fields, see! here is a beautiful large meadow and a very pretty flower!"

Then she went home to her mother, the witch. "What have you seen?" asked her mother of her. "I have seen in the middle of a field a beautiful meadow with a lovely flower." Her mother stormed at her. "Why did you not pluck that flower? You would have brought them both home again."

Well, the witch herself set out. Meanwhile, they had got to a great distance. At length she sees the witch pursuing them, and she says to her husband: "I will change myself into a duck swimming in the middle of a pond, and you must change yourself into a swan."[1] Well, she changed herself into a duck on a beautiful pond, and he changed himself into a swan. Her mother, the witch, having made up to them, said to them: "Oh! I am just going to capture you, to take you both back with me." She proceeded to drink the water of this pond. Then the swan flung himself upon the witch, and battered in her head. "That's what my wife has advised me to do," said he.

Then they resumed their journey, and went away with the help of God. They had gone yet some leagues further on, and then the father set out in pursuit of them. His daughter sees her father coming, and she says to her husband: "Now change yourself into an old man, and I shall change myself into a church." The father arrives, but he finds nobody. He sees a church in the middle of a forest, and he says to himself, this sorcerer, "I am now a hundred years of age, but never yet have I seen a church in the depths of a forest with an old man inside of it!" So he went back to his house with the good God. When he got there, his two daughters said to him, "Our mother has been killed! We did not know that she had exposed all the tricks to him, and they have finally killed our mother."

They journeyed still further away into the world. She sees, the wife of the nobleman's son, that her youngest sister is pursuing them. She says to him: "I shall change myself into a duck, and you change yourself into a drake, and you must do the same thing to her as you did to my mother." Well, he stopped there and changed himself into a drake, and she changed herself into a beautiful duck. Her sister came up, and proceeded to entreat her: "My dear sister, come back with me, for if you do not I will kill myself." Then the drake threw himself upon this sister, and battered her with blows of

[1] "*Ker tu tud bare čirikleske*" (Make yourself into a large bird), was the expression here used by the Gypsy (Čoron) who related the tale to me; and this "large bird" he rendered in Polish as a *swan*, although *drake* had been employed in a previous sentence.—[I. K.]

his wings without giving her any intermission; again he precipitated himself upon her and battered in her head.

Well, they then set out and resumed their journey, with the good God. "Now," said they to themselves, "nobody will pursue us any more." They arrived, this nobleman's son and his wife, at the house of that same miller who had hidden him in a sack. "So you see, sir, that I have gained my end." "It is very fortunate that you have, by the grace of God; we were certain that you were now dead, and see! you are living still." He paid this miller a large sum of money for bringing him to the house where his wife was living. He arrives at home; his mother sees that it is her son, who had been absent from home for more than twenty years. His child is now grown up. She is then filled with joy, so is his son at his father's return; and they all live together with the good, golden God.

ISIDORE KOPERNICKI.

IV.—SCOTTISH GYPSIES UNDER THE STEWARTS.

(*Conclusion.*)

THE second half of the sixteenth century contains several other references to the Scottish Gypsies, in addition to those already noticed. One of these belongs more strictly to the history of the Netherlands, but it nevertheless deserves mention here. In his *Heidens of Egyptiërs*,[1] Mr. J. Dirks quotes an entry of 6th July 1564, from a Middelburg record of that period, which is to this effect:—

"Bastiaen [Sebastian] Hervi of the nation of Heydens, born at Bergen-op-Zoom, of mother and father of the same nation, and Catharina Catilho, his wife, of the same nation, but born in Guelderland, together with Catharine Mosroesse, of the same nation, but born in Scotland . . . banished from Zealand, Holland, and Friesland for the rest of their lives."

The surname of the Gypsy woman last named cannot easily be identified with that borne by any other Scottish Gypsy, but there may have been some misapprehension on the part of the Dutch writer. At any rate, the place of her birth is worthy of notice.

We have seen that the year 1573 is marked in Gypsy annals by a "Charge upoun the Egyptians" issued by the Privy Council of Scotland; by which the Gypsies had to choose between sedentary work and banishment, preceded by imprisonment and "scourging." In the very next year, the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on

[1] Utrecht, 1850, p. 130.

5th March (1574) passed an Act "for the staunching of masterful idle beggars, away-putting of sorners, and provision for the poor," wherein the Gypsies are specially named as belonging to the class requiring to be "staunched." For, in order

"That it may be known what manner of persons are meant to be idle and strong beggars and vagabonds, and worthy of the punishment before specified, it is declared," by this Act, "that all idle persons going about in any country of this realm using subtle, crafty, and unlawful plays—as jugglery, fast and loose,[1] and such others; the idle people calling themselves Egyptians, or any other that feign themselves to have knowledge in physiognomy, palmistry, or other abused sciences, whereby they persuade the people that they can tell their weirds [destiny], deaths, and fortunes, and such other fantastical imaginations . . . shall be taken, adjudged, deemed, and punished as strong beggars and vagabonds."[2]

Although the Act includes other varieties of the vagrant class, not here specified, as coming under the denomination of "idle and strong beggars and vagabonds," it is evident that the clauses just quoted are pointed directly at Gypsies. As if it were not sufficient to state that the fact of their being "Egyptians" brought them within the meaning of the Act, several of their most salient characteristics are particularised; so that apparently no excuse was left them for pleading exemption.

"The punishment before specified" was, that any one found contravening this Act after 1st June 1574 was to be imprisoned, and, if convicted, to be "scourged and burnt throw the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about."[3] But if

[1] "A well-known Gypsy trick," says Mr. Lucas (*Yetholm History of the Gypsies*, p. 145). It is thus referred to by another writer (Robert Bell, in a note to *Hudibras*, Part III. canto ii.): "Fast and loose, formerly called pricking at the belt or girdle, a cheating game still in vogue amongst trampers and impostors at fairs. . . . There are numerous allusions to this game in the dramatic writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." He cites the following apt reference made by Shakespeare (*Antony and Cleopatra*, Act. IV. Scene 10):—

"O this false soul of Egypt . . .
. . . .
Like a right Gypsy hath, at fast and loose,
Beguiled me to the very heart of loss."

[2] In this and similar extracts I have modernised the spelling.

[3] The Act of 1424 against "beggars and idle men," of which the above is little more than an amplification, orders such people "to labour and pass to crafts, for winning of their living, under the pain of *burning on the cheek*, and banishing of the country." That of 1449, for "the away-putting of sorners, feigned fools and vagabonds," decreed "that *their ears be nailed to the tron* [the weighing-post of the public market-place], *or to another tree* [or beam], *and their ear cut off*, and [themselves] banished the country. And if thereafter they be found again, that they be hanged." None of such enactments were repealed. On the contrary, the above Act of 1574 recites in its preamble the penalty of the loss of the culprit's ear. And, although the Act last named substitutes the burning of the right ear for the penalty of burning on the cheek (1424) or the loss of an ear, yet it will be seen (pp. 356 and 362 *post*), that in 1636, and again in 1700, certain convicted Gypsies were condemned to be burnt upon the cheek, that in 1714 a Gypsy woman was nailed by the ear "to a post at the cross," and that while it is not stated that her ear was thereafter cut off, this act of mutilation was practised up till the beginning of the eighteenth century (Simson's *History*, p. 208, and p. 362 *post*).

"some honest and responsible person" agreed to take the offender into his service, the penalty was not enforced. Should he, however, quit this service before the expiry of a year, against the will of his employer, the convicted person was to undergo the allotted punishment, if apprehended. For sixty days thereafter he was free from a repetition of that punishment, but if he remained after that time "in his idle and vagabond trade of life," he was then condemned to "suffer the pains of death as a thief."

Like several of its forerunners, the Act of 1574 provided, by means of local taxation, for the "sustentation of the poor and impotent," as well as for the "punishment of strong and idle beggars." What it aimed at was to discriminate between helpless and innocent distress, and that indigence which, without begging or stealing, would have been the fate of "persons living idly and fleeing labour." But its most severe clauses did not apply to those who were under fourteen or above seventy years of age.[1] For the children under fourteen who could not plead bodily weakness, the Act provided a species of slavery akin to that to which the full-grown "sturdy beggar" was liable. For it ordained that

> "If any beggar's child, being above the age of five years and within fourteen, male or female, shall be liked of by any subject of the realm of honest estate, the said person shall have the child by order and direction of the ordinary judges bound [*i.e.* apprenticed] with him, if he be a man-child, to the age of twenty-four years, and if she be a woman-child to the age of eighteen years; and if they depart, or be taken or enticed from their master or mistress' service, the master or mistress to have the like action and remedy as for their fee'd servant and apprentice, as well against the child as against the taker or enticer thereof."

This, it may again be repeated, applied to any contravener of the Act, Gypsy or Gentile; but it is quite plain that all the little Gypsies in Scotland were thereby made liable to a youth of enforced servitude; unless their parents adopted a settled and reputable way of living.

From the Privy Council edict of 1576,[2] it is evident that not only the "Charge" of 1573, but also this very explicit Act of the Parliament of 1574 had "wanted execution." Accordingly, the Privy Council issued in 1576 those directions to the sheriffs and officials throughout Scotland which, as already noted,[3] declared the very officials themselves as guilty of "favouring and sustaining thieves and murderers," if they were found remiss in their duty of searching out and bringing to justice the "Egyptians" within their jurisdiction.

[1] The limits observed also in the Act of 1424.

[2] *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* ii. 5, pp. 304-5.

[3] *Ibid.*

Notwithstanding this, the Gypsies continued to exist in Scotland, as may be seen from the fact that a lady of rank sought advice from some of them in 1577;[1] and as is still more strongly proved by the passing in 1579 of another Act "for punishment of strong and idle beggars, and relief of the poor and impotent."

This Act was very closely a copy of its precursor of 1574. Like it, it begins by referring to "sundry lovable Acts of Parliament," previously passed for the same purpose, and, like it, it includes "the idle people calling themselves Egyptians" (with other descriptive clauses obviously denoting them) as among the "persons meant to be idle and strong beggars and vagabonds, and worthy of the punishment before specified." Like that of 1574, also, this Act explains its existence by stating that its forerunners "in times bypast have not been put to due execution through the iniquities and troubles of the times bypast [referring to the very disturbed state of Scotland], and by reason that there was not heretofore an order of punishment so specially devised as need required." It re-enacts also the laws as to the enforced servitude of "sturdy beggars" and their children; and in short, it is practically a repetition of the Act of 1574. One additional statement, resulting perhaps from the fact that James VI., though only a lad, was now at the head of affairs, is to the effect that "the said beggars, besides the other inconvenients which they daily produce in the commonwealth, procure the wrath and displeasure of God for the wicked and ungodly form of living used amongst them, without marriage or baptizing of a great number of their bairns." It cannot be said, however, that there is any indication that the Gypsies, any more than others of "the said beggars," are here denoted; or, indeed, whether the reference applies to them at all.

As for the apology "that there was not heretofore an order of punishment so specially devised as need required," for the suppression of those nomadic and "idle" castes, it is ludicrously feeble; certainly in the case of the Act last mentioned. For it was merely an echo of that of 1574, which, if put into force, would have settled the whole question within a year. So far as it related to Gypsies, they had not a loophole of escape. Not to take into account several other clauses which struck at them indirectly, the mere declaration that "Egyptians" were to be held as "masterful idle beggars and sorners" was virtually a condemnation of the whole race, without the necessity of another word. For, by an Act of 1455, "sorners" were declared to be "thieves or reivers," and, as such, subject to death, whenever apprehended.

[1] *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* ii. 5, pp. 304-5.

A previous Act, of 1449, had condemned them to banishment in the first instance, and death if they were again found in Scotland. And as early as 1424 they were condemned to banishment. In fact, the worst features of Gypsydom could have been stamped out at once by means of existing laws, without the need of the name "Egyptian" ever appearing in an Act of Parliament. But besides all this, they had already been explicitly dealt with in the Privy Council edicts of 1576 and 1573, and the intervening Act of 1574. And even these, distinct and forcible as they were, were not necessary. For the "Letters to the Sheriffs and Boroughs for Expelling of Egyptians" from Scotland, which at the command of the King and his Privy Council were sent to these authorities throughout the country, in June 1541, contained warrant enough to leave no Gypsy in the land after the expiry of that year. Thus, the excuse pleaded in the preambles of the Acts of 1574 and 1579 was really no excuse at all. Of anti-Gypsy legislation there had been, and there was yet to be, more than enough. The fault did not lie in the absence of "an order of punishment so specially devised as need required," but in the inability of the Government to put into force the many such orders that had long existed.

The Parliament which passed the Act last referred to began its sittings at Edinburgh on the 22d of October 1579. An entry made in the records of Glasgow in the previous summer shows us the presence of a Gypsy band in that city, at that date. (And it may be noticed, in passing, that it clearly illustrates what has just been said as to the futility of the enactments previously made.) Among certain "Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, A.D. 1573-1642,"[1] appears this entry :—

"31 *July* 1579.—Robert Baillie, capitane of certane Egiptianes, wes reddy for himself and his cumpany to ansuer at the instans of Johne Pollok, Greyn, for ony crym, quha comperit nocht to persew and thairfor protestit for releve thairof."

Down to the present day, Baillie has been a famous name among the Scottish Gypsies, and it was so forty years before the date of the above reference.[2] Whether the Robert Baillie who figured at Glasgow in 1579, ought to be identified with the "Robert Bayly" of 1569 who underwent chastisement for vagrancy, at Higham Ferrars, in Northamptonshire,[3] is matter for conjecture. It is not at all unlikely, at any rate, that the "captain" of the Gypsy band at Glasgow, in 1579, was the same person as a certain "Capitane Baillie" who was

[1] Glasgow: Printed for the Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1876 (p. 75).
[2] See *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* ii. 5, p. 298 *n.*
[3] See *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* i. 1, p. 17.

hanged at Edinburgh on 4th December 1594, "for counterfetting the Great Seall agains the merchants."[1] Counterfeiting was a favourite Gypsy weakness; indeed, a later representative of the same family, a William Baillie, who was also a celebrated Gypsy "captain," was accused in the year 1699, and again in 1715, "with being art and part in forging and using a forged pass or certificate." He, however, was more fortunate than his namesake of 1594; as he succeeded in obtaining an acquittal.

Whatever effect the Act of the following autumn may have had upon this Robert Baillie and his followers,[2] it is evident that it made no great impression upon the Gypsies generally. For, as already pointed out,[3] "the wicked and counterfeit thieves and limmers calling themselves Egyptians," were among the "enormities" that "craved most speedy reformation" in the year 1587. And even then the officers of the law proved themselves unable or unwilling to grapple successfully with the difficulty. For the twelfth Parliament of James the Sixth, which met on 5th June 1592, found it necessary to frame a statute "for remeid of the great contempt, disordour and wrang, quhilk hes bene in diverse partes of this realme, in default of keeping and execution of the gude lawes and actes of Parliament maid of before, be the Schireffes, and vtheris judges ordinar, their deputes and clerkes"; and what these officials were then commanded to do, "as they will answer to his Majesty at their peril," was to insure a thorough search for and apprehension of all traitors, rebels, and vagrants of every description. And among these last were "the dissimulate thieves and abusers, calling themselves Egyptians." Further, another Act of the same Parliament, "for punishment of masterful beggars and relief of the poor," concludes thus:—

"And for the better trial of common sorners, vagabonds, and masterful beggars; feigned fools and counterfeit Egyptians: And to the effect that they may be still pursued until they be compelled to settle themselves at some certain dwelling, or be expelled forth from the country: That the sheriffs and other judges ordinary, and their deputies, and other justices and commissioners above specified, take inquisition by inquest, at the head courts yearly, of the names and tokens[4] of

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[1] *Birrel's Diary*; in "Fragments of Scottish History." Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable, at the Cross, 1798.

[2] It may be observed that the Act did not come into force till 1st January 1580.

[3] *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* ii. 5, p. 305.

[4] The word here used probably refers to the method by which the *deserving* poor (unable to support themselves) were distinguished from "idle beggars." The primitive form of "Poor Relief," which had long been in use in Scotland, consisted in the issue of metal badges, or tokens, by the local Sheriff or "headsman," to those really deserving and needing succour. And the mode in which each parish settled its "Poor Tax" was by the formal recognition of the right of the holders of these badges to beg for aid from all those within the parish able to give it. A very instructive paper on this subject, by Mr. J. Balfour Paul

them; And make denunciation of them to the next ordinary judges and parishes, in the four halves[1] about: As also to our Sovereign Lord and his secret council, within forty days, after the said head courts, under the pain foresaid."

It will be noticed that what was aimed at in the edict just quoted, as in similar enactments before and after it, was not the suppression and expulsion of Gypsies *as a race*, but as people living an idle and vagrant life. As soon as a Gypsy "settled at some certain dwelling," and followed some recognised occupation, he ceased to be an offender in the eyes of the law. Some of the earlier edicts, no doubt, were much harsher; but, by the end of the sixteenth century, the Gypsy was not of necessity condemned to banishment, or death, or (if a youth) to a form of slavery. Various special examples could be adduced showing that it was only the obdurate, irreclaimable Gypsy that these laws were directed against. A very striking instance of this truth—an almost grotesque instance—is afforded by the execution, at a later period (1770), of two notorious Gypsies. For the actual hangman of the town (Linlithgow) was himself a Gypsy (as was also the paid minstrel or "piper" of the town).[2] Conversely, as in the English instance of three yeomen who were "sentenced to be hanged 'because they had consorted for a month with Egyptians,'"[3] any citizen of previously good repute could render himself liable to the penalties meted out to Gypsies simply by following their mode of life. The prime offence, therefore, was that of roaming about the country, and living upon the goods of others, obtained from them by ordinary begging, by intimidation ("masterful begging"), or by downright violence and theft.

The Burgh Records of Glasgow, which have already been quoted

(*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1886-87, pp. 169-179), mentions that the Act of 1424—referred to above—provides for the issue of these tokens, as well as for the punishment of incorrigibly "idle men," who were not so distinguished. It will thus be seen that, if the authorities exercised a proper discrimination, the possession or the absence of these badges at once marked out the "sheep" from the "goats." And Mr. Paul points out that at Ayr, in 1642, and at Kirkwall, Orkney, in 1674 (for which see also *op. cit.* 1885-86, pp. 173-4), when the practice was apparently falling into desuetude, an issue of these tokens was ordained, on account of the increasing number of "strangers and idle vagabonds," whom it was necessary to distinguish from those worthy of relief. But the reason for the reference in the above Act of 1592 would seem to be that some Gypsies had got over this difficulty by the simple process of making spurious tokens for themselves. Among the many people denounced by the Act of 1574 as "idle and strong beggars" are:—"all counterfeiters of licences to beg, or using of the same, knowing them to be counterfeited." Gypsies, notorious as counterfeiters of money, could hardly fail to provide themselves with these useful badges; and indeed we have noticed (*ante*, p. 339) the trial of one famous Gypsy for "being art and part in forging and using a forged pass or certificate."

[1] This curious expression was a conventional one, frequently encountered in those old Acts.

[2] See Simson's *History*, pp. 124 *n.*, and 136.

[3] *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* i. 1, p. 21.

from, again (p. 182) give us a glimpse of Gypsies in that city; for, under date 23d October 1596, we read that—

"In presens of the provest, bailleis, and counsale, Agnes Brovne [Brown], ane of the cumpany of the Egipsianes, being tane and put in the stokis, and becaus na thing wes tane with hir wes releivitt."

A brief enough notice, not clearly denoting whether this Agnes Brown was one of the company of the Robert Baillie of 1579, though it is not unlikely she was. Brown and Baillie were both well-known surnames among the Scottish Gypsies, and they appear together in the following century.

In 1597 it was deemed necessary to pass yet another Act of Parliament, declaring that "strong beggars, vagabonds, and Egyptians should be punished." Here it will be seen that the King, or his advisers, had thought it essential to again assume an attitude of severity; for the Act is in these terms:—

"Our Sovereign Lord, and Estates of Parliament, ratify and approve the Acts of Parliament formerly made against strong and idle beggars, vagabonds, and Egyptians; with this addition, That strong beggars and their children be employed in common [*i.e.* public] works; and their service, mentioned in the Act of Parliament in the year of God one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine years, to be prorogated during their whole life: And in place of several commission in landward to be granted by the King, for execution of the said Act, the power thereof to be granted to the particular Kirk-Session."

Referring to this Act, Mr. Walter Simson, in his *History of the Gypsies*,[1] says: "By the above and subsequent statutes, in the reign of James VI., 'coal and salt-masters might apprehend and put to labour all vagabonds and sturdy beggars.' The truth is, these kidnapped individuals and their children were made slaves of to these masters. The colliers were emancipated only within these fifty years. It has been stated to me that some of the colliers in the Lothians are of Gypsy extraction." That *all* of them were so is not asserted, nor is it probable.[2]

The devolution of secular power to the inferior church courts or "kirk-sessions," is a notable feature of this Act; although it was really only an enlargement of a clause in the Act of 1592, which authorised the "Ministers, Deacons, and Elders," to select deputy-sheriffs from among the local justices of the peace and commissioners, who would thereby have authority to enforce the Act. These

[1] Page 111 *n.*

[2] The anomalous position of those Scottish serfs of the eighteenth century aroused the indignation of Hugh Miller, whose remarks are also quoted by Mr. Simson (*History*, pp. 121-2, *n.*)

substitutes were to be thus elected in the event of the proper officials being "found remiss or negligent."

But, of course, the most important announcement in the Act is the declaration that the temporary serfdom to which former statutes had condemned incorrigible "sturdy beggars" and their children, should henceforth be extended to a lifelong slavery. Still, although the term "slavery" expresses correctly enough the position of these convicted Gypsies, we should only imperfectly grasp the situation if we did not also understand that this was at the same time an earlier form of the sentence of "penal servitude for life." This is clearly illustrated by the case of a "thief" named Alexander Stewart, who was condemned to death at Perth in 1701, but whose sentence was afterwards commuted to "perpetual servitude." He was thereupon "gifted by the justiciars as a perpetual servant to Sir John Areskine of Alva," in whose service he presumably ended his days. (See Dr. Daniel Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland.*) Thus, a "perpetual servant" of those days resembled a well-conducted convict in our "Botany Bay" period, who similarly worked for another; and it may safely be assumed that this kind of "servitude," of whatever period, was generally accepted as preferable to death, and was certainly preferable to a lifelong imprisonment in "the hulks," or "the galleys," or in any of the great convict prisons.

Yet another Act "anent strong and idle beggars" was passed in the year 1599; and it was followed by a "Ratification" of it in 1600. Although the Gypsies are not specially named therein, the terms used[1] leave no doubt that they constituted a portion, if not the chief portion, of the class legislated against.

"An unfortunate hiatus in the preserved series of volumes containing the original Minutes of the main proceedings of the [Privy] Council," prevents us from ascertaining the precise terms of an Act of that body "made in the month of June, or thereby, in the year of God 1603, and Proclamation following thereupon," by which all who lived the life of Gypsies[2] were given the alternative of banishment or death. But as an Act of Parliament, ratifying this Privy Council edict, was passed in 1609, the terms of the enactment of 1603 will be seen in this subsequent Act which confirms it.

The Gypsies, however, neither chose the one alternative nor the other, but continued to defy the law in the same fashion as formerly.

[1] "Strong and idle beggars, being for the most part thieves, bards, and counterfeit limmers [rogues], living most insolently and ungodly," etc.

[2] For it is evident one ought not to read *literally* the declaration that all those who "are called, known, reputed, and held as Egyptians" come within the meaning of the Act.

Such a succession of adverse laws could not, of course, fail to affect them to some extent; but, as before, they are found incidentally named, as in such cases as the "Lady Foulis" reference of 1577, and the Lasswade quarrel of 1598, in circumstances which seem to denote that although every "Egyptian" was under the ban of the law, yet that did not very greatly affect his daily life, or threaten to cut short his existence altogether.

Nevertheless, the last quarter of the sixteenth, and the first quarter of the seventeenth century is a period more adverse to the Gypsies, by reason of its stern and continuous anti-Gypsy legislation, than any period before or since. And this seems in a great measure due to the personal influence of James VI. of Scotland (now attaining the zenith of his power as James I. of Great Britain and Ireland[1]); a monarch who, in spite of his pedantry and other faults, thoroughly realised his duty of bringing the whole United Kingdom into a state of order and civilisation.

Among the "heads or titles of Acts or Decrees" which are "entered collectively under date September 1604," in the *Minute Book of Processes*, which helps to fill in the unfortunate blank in the Privy Council Register of 1603-6, is the following:—"Letters: the Captan of the Guard against the magistrattis of Forfar for wrongous taking of Hary Fall, ane egiptian, off his hand."[2] No further information as to this incident appears to be obtainable from this source.

In 1605, two of the Commissioners appointed by King James to inquire into and settle the disorders in the "Middle Shires" of Great Britain (as the King now designated what were formerly the Border counties of two antagonistic countries), reported to the Scottish Privy Council that, among other things, "the Commissioners made a proclamation against 'all vagaboundis that had no lauchfull nor certane trade, and speciallie of that sorte callit Egiptianes, with certificatioun that quhaever ressavit thame within thair boundis (becaus thair hant [resort] wes ordinarlie grit in these boundis[3]), sould not onlie be thocht culpable of thair stouthis [outrages], bot farther comptable for quhatsomever could be provin wanting in ony

[1] By the death of his cousin, Queen Elizabeth, in 1603, James VI. of Scotland fell heir to the sovereignty of England and Ireland, and thus united the whole British Islands under one monarchy.

[2] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, as printed and published in Edinburgh, vol. vii. p. 15.

[3] The Borders of England and Scotland had for centuries formed a "debateable" or "no-man's land," and partly for this reason, partly because of the safe retreat afforded by its numerous "wastes," this territory was admirably suited as a refuge for people who were banned by the laws of both England and Scotland.

of the boundis adjacent thairto during the tyme of thair ressait,[1] and xxiiii houris befoir the same, and als lang efter thair departour thairfra, by and attour [beyond] the punischment of the ressettaris bodyis, and fynning [fining] of thame in thair guidis and geir, according to thair estate and moyane." [2]

It has been noticed that the Acts of 1592 and 1597 delegated a certain amount of secular power to the minor Church Courts, or "Kirk-Sessions," in the matter of the "Egyptians." This is to some extent illustrated by the following extract from the Records of the "Presbytery" of Aberdeen—a Court superior to the "Kirk-Session":

"28*th April* 1608.

"The quhilk day, anent citatione rasit and execute against the personis under wreitten, videlicet, Dauid Gray, in the Lyn, Alexander Abirdene, in Brotherfield, Alexander Andersone, at the Walk Mylne of Drum, Alexander Craig in Quhobbis, Jonet Gordon, wyf of Dauid Bell, quha being callit, compeirit the said Dauid Graye, Alexander Abirdene, and confessit *simpliciter* the recept of the Egyptiance within thair houssis, gave thame harbrie and interteneament of meat and drink for thair monee; and the presbyterie ordenit the said Dauid Gray and Alexander Abirdene to pay ilk ane of thame tua markis monee in penaltie, and to mak thair repentance befoir the pulpet on their kneis, and that on Sondaye cum aucht dayes, onder the panes of the censuris of the kirk. And as for Alexander Andersone, he confessit lykwayes thair recept, and allegit he did nocht [nothing] without a warrand and commandement of the Larde and Ladie of Drum,[3] quhilk the presbyterie ordenit him to produce in wreitt befoir thame the nixt day of the exercise: with certificatioune, and he succumbit, that they wald decerne in the penaltie and repentance as the said Dauid Gray and Alexander Abirdene." [4]

However, although the fine of two marks apiece was a punishment of a distinctly secular character, it is evident that the offence was primarily one against religion. It does seem curious to the modern mind that to supply meat and drink to Gypsies, in return for money paid down by them, constituted an actual *sin*, demanding repentance and humiliation. But it must be remembered that Gypsies were then regarded as "witches" (as the same locality shows to us some years later [5]), and that anything that tended to encourage "witchcraft" was a religious offence.

The month of June 1609 is famous as the date of the Act which ratified the Privy Council edict of 1603; and upon it the future Gypsy prosecutions were based. It is as follows:—

[1] See remarks on pp. 350-2, *post*.
[2] Privy Council Register, *ut supra*, p. 713.
[3] Alexander Irvine of Drum, and his wife, Lady Marion Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Buchan.
[4] *Selections from Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen*, 1562-1681; Aberdeen (printed for the Spalding Club), 1846, pp. 200-201.
[5] In January 1619. See *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* vol. i. p. 375, and vol. ii. p. 305 *n*.

"ACT ANENT THE EGIPTIANS.

"OVR SOVERAIGNE LORD and Estates of Parliament Ratifies, approues and perpetuallie confirmes the act of Secreet Councell made in the moneth of Iune or therby 1603 years, and proclamation following ther-vpon: Commanding the vagabounds, sorners, and common thiefes commonlie called Egiptians, to passe forth of this Kingdome, and remaine perpetuallie forth therof, and never to returne within the samin, vnder the paine of death, and that the samin haue force and execution after the first day of August next to come. After the whilk tyme if any of the saids vagabounds, called Egiptians, als well wemen as men, shal be found within this Kingdome or any part thereof;[1] It shall be lesome to all his Majesties good subjects, or any ane of them, to cause take, apprehend, imprison, and execute to death the saids Egiptians, either men or wemen, as common, notorious and condemned theifes, by ane assyse onely to be tryed, that they are called, knawn, reput and halden Egiptians. In the whilk cause, whasoever of the assyse happins to clenge [exculpate] any of the foresaids persons, Egiptians pannelled [accused], as said is, shall be persewed, handled and censured as committers of wilfull error. And whasoever shall at any tyme therafter reset, receaue, supplie or intertein any of the saids Egiptians, either men or wemen, shall tyne [lose] their escheat, and be warded at the Judges will. And that the Schirefs and Magistrats in whais bounds they shall publictlie and avowedlie resort and remaine, be called before the Lords of his Heighnes Secreet Councell, and sevearlie censured and punished for their negligence in execution of this act. Discharging all letters, protections and warrants whatsomever purchassed by the saids Egiptians or any of them from his Majestie or Lords of Secreet Councell, for their remaining within this Realme as surreptitiouslie and deceatfullie obteined by their knawledge. Annulling also all warrants purchased or hereafter to be purchased by any subject of whatsomever ranke within this Kingdome for their reset, interteining or doing any manner of favour to the saids Egiptians at any tyme after the said first day of August next to come for now and ever."

An incident of this same year (1609), which indeed was occasioned by the Act itself, shows us clearly that the antipathy to the Gypsies was not due to their *race* but to their *habit of life*, and that it was open at any time for a Gypsy to cease from "being a Gypsy," and to become a loyal and law-abiding subject. The individual who exemplifies this was a certain Moses Faw, who after the passing of this severe anti-Egyptian Act appealed to the Privy Council, claiming exemption therefrom. The incident is thus summarised in the printed Register of the Privy Council[2]:—

"Supplication by Mosie Faw, as follows:—He is informed that in the last Parliament an Act was passed ordaining Egyptians to leave this realm within a certain time under pain of death, with power to any of the lieges to apprehend and slay all Egyptians after the day foresaid. Now, though the said Act was 'most lauchfullie and worthelie set doun aganis these infamous thevis and lymmaris who undir the counterfute name of Egiptianis commitis sa mony villanyis in the cuntrey,' petitioner 'is sure that the Estaitis of Parliament had nevir ony purpois

[1] This only refers to the kingdom of Scotland; for, although the crowns of England and Scotland had been united in 1603, the two Parliaments were not amalgamated till the year 1707.

[2] Vol. viii. p. 372.

or intentioun that the said Act sould ressave executioun aganis honnest, lauchfull, and trew personis'; and, as he himself 'disdanis and detestis the therishe forme of doing of that infamous societie,' and has withdrawn himself and his wife and children from them, and as 'his birth, educatioun, and residence hes bene in this kingdome, quhair, gif it micht please God, he wald fane spend the rest of his dayis in the estate and conditioun of a quiet, modest, trew, and humble subject,' and as he has found caution [surety] in £1000 to obey the laws, appear before the Council as often as he may be required on ten days' warning, and not reset or have dealings, or allow his family to have dealings, with the Egyptians, he humbly prays that he may be allowed to remain in this country. The Lords, finding his prayer reasonable, accept the caution offered, and grant the required licence."

The person who thus became security for "Mosie Faw" was a landed gentleman of the east of Scotland, David Lindsay of Quarrelhill; and the head of the Lindsay family, David, Earl of Crawfurd, became "surety in relief."[1]

In spite, however, of all these solemn protestations, it is evident that this Moses Faw was an irreclaimable Gypsy. For, although it was only in November 1609 that he had given his bond for good behaviour, we find the following item among the memoranda for the month of April 1611 in the *Minute Book of Processes*: "Proces: [King's] Advocatt against Mossie Faw for hanting with Egiptians."[2] And to what extent he had "disdained the thievish form of doing of that infamous society" may be seen from the statements made at a meeting of the Privy Council two months later.

At its session held at Edinburgh on 27th June 1611, the Privy Council granted a commission to the Selkirkshire justices against "Mosie Faw" and his companions. This is the summarised statement in the printed volume of the *Register*.[3]

"Mosie Faw and a number more of the 'counterfoote lymmaris callit the Egiptianis' having, for fear of punishment for their thievish doings, retired to the shire of Selkirk, where they not only commit reifs [robberies] and other villanies, but even attack the lieges with hagbuts and pistolets when opposed, and there being encouragement to them to continue in their wickedness 'in respect of the oversicht quhilk thay haif of the judges and magistratis of the cuntrey,' who pretend want of warrant in excuse for not apprehending them, commission, subscribed as above,[4] is given to the Justices of Peace within the said shire to convocate the lieges in arms for apprehending and keeping them in ward till they are tried by an assize and punished with death."

That the instructions contained in this commission were very speedily and effectually carried out is certain. For, on 31st July

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 712. "The band [bond] registered by Mr. David Prymrois, advocate, is subscribed at the Cannongait, 11th November, before William Lyoun, Alexander Lindsay, and Gilbert Rynd, servitors to the said Earl, and Alexander Wylie, servitor to James Prymrois, clerk of Council."

[2] *Privy Council Register*, vol. ix. p. 171.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 205.

[4] That is, by these Privy Councillors "the Chancellor, Cassillis, Lynlythgow, Lothiane, Blantyre, Balfour, and Alexander Hay."

1611, "Moyses Fa, Dauid Fa, Robert Fa, and Johnne *alias* Willie Fa, Egiptians," were brought to trial at Edinburgh "for abyding and remaining within this kingdome, they being Egiptianis; contrair the tennour of the Actis of Parliament." The indictment against them begins by reciting the Act of 1609, and proceeds to say: "Nevertheless, ye and each one of you being vagabonds, sorners, common thieves, repute, called, and held [as] Egyptians" have "remained within this kingdom, in contempt of the said Act of Parliament, and are notoriously known to be Egyptians, and so reputed and held. And therfore ye and each one of you ought to be demanit to the death, and suffer the pains therof." There is here no distinction between Moses and the other Faws; and all are alike notorious vagabonds, thieves, and Gypsies.

In his defence Moses Faw produced the licence granted to him by the Privy Council in 1609; which was accepted by the King's Advocate, "*in quantum*." The King's Advocate goes on to allege that the conditions specified in the licence were "in no wise kept" by the accused; whose surety[1] had failed to appear before the Council, and, having also failed to pay the penalty of a thousand pounds, had been declared an outlaw. And therefore, on account of the non-payment of the penalty, "as also in respect that the conditions specified in the licence are not kept, the said Moses Faw has fallen under the danger of the said Act of Parliament, and the pain of death inflicted upon him." The Advocate further declares "the remanent persones, his complices," as equally guilty of death, in terms of the Act, "and protests for Wilful Error against the Assize, if they acquit, according to the said Act." He produces also the Act of Council against Moses Faw's surety, making him an outlaw, and he repeats the deposition of a certain "James Ballache," "testifying the said Moses being in company and society with the Egyptians, and of his giving bond to the said James, for redressing of divers thefts."

The Assize unanimously pronounced all of the accused to be "notoriously known to be Egyptians, at the least so reputed and held"; and they were accordingly sentenced "to be taken to the Burghmuir of Edinburgh, and there to be hanged till they were dead: And all their moveable goods and gear pertaining to them to be escheated and brought in to our Sovreign Lord's use."[2]

[1] The Earl of Crawfurd, who was "surety in relief" was himself at one time outlawed for his insurrection, with other Catholic nobles (Huntly and Errol), in 1588; and his character was altogether removed from that of a peaceable subject. The actual surety, Mr. Lindsay, was evidently a cadet of the house of Crawfurd.

[2] For the above account, see Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii. 201-2.

From the statement made by an eminent lawyer of the latter part of the same century,[1] it would appear that this sentence was carried into effect on the same day.

This year was an unfortunate one for the Faw family. For we find that on 27th September 1611, hardly two months after the doom pronounced against Moses Faw and his friends, the Privy Council granted a commission of justiciary against "Captain" Harry Faw and other Gypsies. The statement in the printed *Register*[2] is as follows:—

"The 'counterfoote thevis' called the Egyptians, having been by diverse Acts ordained to depart this realm under pain of death, but, although the term of their departure is now long past, Captain Harie Faw, James Faw, his son, and a number of vagabonds, men and women, 'falslie calling thamselffis Egyptianis,' still remaining in this realm, wandering through all parts thereof at their pleasure, and committing reifs and other 'insolencyis' on good subjects, and 'abusing the simple ones with telling of dreames and fortounis, and utheris foleyis nawyse sufferable in a Christeane commounwele,' commission under the signet, subscribed by the Chancellor, Glencarne, Lotheane, Glasgow, Blantyre, and Lord Scone, is given to Sir James Erskin to apprehend the said Egyptians, put them to the knowledge of an assize, and minister justice on them conform to the laws."

This "Captain Harry Faw" is probably the same person as "Hary Fall, ane egiptian," casually noticed as having been "wrongously taken" by the magistrates of Forfar in 1603 or 1604. The name "Henry" was evidently long borne by representatives of one line of the Faw, or Fall, descent; as we read that, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was a noted Gypsy of the south of Scotland known as "Henry Faa."[3]

This "Commission of Justiciary" was only one of several indications that this year was one of renewed activity in the anti-Gypsy crusade. To enforce still further the powers previously granted, the Privy Council had, on 25th July 1611, included the following among their "Regulations concerning the Constables":—

"Constablis sall stay and arreist all vagabundis, sturdie beggaris, and Egiptianis, and carye thame befoir the nixt Commissionaris of Peace, who sall tak ordour for their committing or punishement according to the statute of Parliament."[4]

The Justices of Peace were at the same time directed to "put to

[1] Sir George Mackenzie: *Laws and Customs, etc.*, Edinburgh, 1678, p. 318. By a slip of the pen this writer styles the Gypsy "Moses *Shaw*"; but this may be accounted for by the fact that he had acted as King's Advocate in the prosecution and conviction of four Gypsy *Shaws* in the beginning of the year when his *Laws and Customs* was published.

[2] Vol. ix. p. 256.

[3] A writer of 1774 observes:—"I am most credibly informed that [he] was received, and ate at the tables of people in public office, and that men of considerable fortune paid him a gratuity, called blackmail, in order to have their goods protected from thieves." (Simson's *History*, p. 237; quoted from *Ruddiman's Weekly Magazine*, 4th August 1774.)

[4] *Privy Council Register*, vol. ix. p. 226.

due and full execution" the Acts of Parliament "against masterful beggars and vagabonds, solitary and idle men and women lurking in alehouses, tied to no certain service, designed, reputed, and held as vagabonds." Their attention is also drawn to the existence of "sundry unnecessary alehouses in the country, which are the receipt of sundry masterless men and rebels at the horn [*i.e.* outlawed], and other persons guilty of divers crimes, and are the chiefest occasion of the stouths, reifs, and pickery [robberies and thefts] committed, as well in the day as night, upon his Majesty's good subjects travelling in the country"; and the justices are authorised to "take order" with such houses. (To such "unnecessary alehouses" as these belonged the "Mumps Ha" described by Sir Walter Scott in *Guy Mannering*, and the "tinkler howffs" mentioned in the pages of Simson.)

These "Articles and Instructions" were subsequently ratified (28th June 1617), by an Act "Anent the Justices for keeping the Kings Majesty's Peace, and their Constables."[1] The section (VII.) of this Act, which repeats the above-quoted directions to Justices with regard to "solitary and idle men and women lurking in alehouses," who were "reputed and held as vagabonds," adds this clause: "and against those persons who are commonly called Egyptians." This clause, apparently omitted as unnecessary in the instructions of 1611, left the Gypsies no possible pretext for claiming exemption. Nevertheless, what has been previously said as to the important fact that the Gypsy *life* and not the Gypsy *race* was what the law abhorred, receives a fresh illustration from the consideration of this particular detail. Because, Gypsies *themselves* were frequently chosen as constables.[2] Thus, veritable Gypsies might be town-minstrels, executioners, and constables, and, instead of being under the ban of the law, help rather to enforce it. Moreover, besides these special appointments, it was at all times open to Gypsies to abandon their idle and wandering ways, and to settle down in a certain place, in some authorised mode of life.

On the other hand, any person might come perilously near being pronounced a "Gypsy," simply by associating with recognised Gypsies. For example, among the Gypsy incidents of the first decade of the seventeenth century is the trial of "Elizabeth Warrok, dochter of . . . Warrok, in the Potterrow,"[3] which took place on

[1] And also by an Act of 1661.

[2] Simson's *History*, pp. 343 and 348.

[3] A street in Edinburgh, then outside the city walls. The name "Potter-row" is suggestive; for potters, or "muggers," and *tinklers*, *faws*, and *Gypsies*, were once almost synonymous terms.

30th November 1610. This woman was not only charged with being "ane cowmone ressetter of Thift," and as having taken active part in a specified act of theft, but also with being "ane cowmone Vagabund and follower of the Gipseis, and taking pairt with thame in all thair thiftis and juglareis this ten yeir bygane, contrair the Actis of Parliament." She was "convicted of the said crimes," and sentenced to be scourged through Edinburgh and banished therefrom, and never after to be found within four miles of the city, under the pain of death by drowning, "without further doom or law to be held or pronounced against her."[1]

It will be noticed that this woman was only charged with being a "follower" and accomplice of Gypsies, and not as herself a Gypsy (*i.e.* a nomadic Gypsy). If such a charge could have been proved against her, the sentence would have been death, without any reservation, according to the terms of the Act of Parliament of 1609.

The trial of a party of Faws at the Sheriff-Court held at Scalloway, Shetland, on 22d August 1612, has already been noticed in our pages.[2] They are described as "Johne Faw, elder, callit mekill Johne Faw, Johne Faw younger, calit Littill Johne Faw, Katherin Faw, spous to umquhill [*i.e.* the late] Murdo Brown, Agnes Faw, sister to the said Litill Johne."

The sin of "resetting" (that is, of harbouring or giving "receipt" to) the Gypsies, was specially struck at in the Act of 1609, as it had been by the Commissioners appointed to regulate the Borders of England and Scotland in 1605. The following extract from Mr. Simson's pages states the matter clearly and concisely :—

"On the 14th July 1616, the Sheriff of Forfar is severely reprimanded for delaying to execute some Gipsies, who had been taken within his jurisdiction, and for troubling the council with petitions in their behalf. In November following appears a proclamation against Egyptians and their resetters. In December 1619, we find another proclamation against resetters of them; in April 1620, another proclamation of the same kind, and in July 1620, a commission against resetters, all with very severe penalties. The nature of these acts will be better understood from the following extract from that of the 4th July 1616, which also very well explains the way in which the Gipsies contrived to maintain their footing in the country, in defiance of all the efforts of the legislature to extirpate them. 'It is of truth that the thieves and *limmers* (scoundrels) aforesaid, having for some short space after the said Act of Parliament (1609) . . . dispersed themselves in certain secret and obscure places of the country . . . they were not known to wander abroad in troops and companies, according to their accustomed manner, yet, shortly thereafter, finding that the said Act of Parliament was neglected, and that no enquiry . . . was made for them, they began to take new breath and courage, and . . . unite themselves in infamous companies and societies, under . . . com-

1 Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii. 99.
2 In Mr. Groome's article, "Brazilian and Shetland Gypsies," vol. i. pp. 233-4.

manders, and continually since then have remained within the country, committing as well open and avowed *rieffis* (robberies) in all parts, . . . murders, . . . *pleine stouthe* (common theft), and pickery, where they may not be mastered; and they do shamefully and mischievously abuse the simple and ignorant people, by telling fortunes, and using charms, and a number of juggling tricks and falseties, unworthy to be heard of in a country subject to religion, law, and justice; and they are encouraged to remain within the country, and to continue in their thievish and juggling tricks and falseties, not only through default of the execution of the said Act of Parliament, but, what is worse, that great numbers of his majesty's subjects, of whom some outwardly pretend to be famous and unspotted gentlemen, have given and give open and avowed protection, reset, supply and maintainance, upon their grounds and lands, to the said vagabonds, *sorners*, and condemned thieves and *limmers*, and suffer them to remain days, weeks, and months together thereupon, without controulment, and with connivance and oversight,' etc. 'So they do leave a foul, infamous, and ignominious spot upon them, their houses, and posterity, that they are patrons to thieves and *limmers*, etc.'"[1]

Those Gypsies for befriending whom the Sheriff of Forfar was "severely reprimanded" in July 1616 were very likely the band of John Faw, who also brought trouble upon a landed gentleman of that neighbourhood in the previous year. For, on 25th January 1615, a certain Mr. William Auchterlony of Cairny was "dilaitit" before the Justice-Depute at Edinburgh "for contravening the Actis of Parliament in resetting of Egiptianis; speciallie of Johnne Fall, ane notorious Egiptian and Chiftane of that vnhappie soirt of people." A neighbour of the accused, Mr. David Lindsay of Balgavies, appeared as his representative, and explained that his principal was "lyand bedfast and deidlie seik, nocht habill to travell to keip this dyet." The laird of Balgavies therefore became surety for the due appearance of the accused, on the occasion of the next circuit of the Lord Justice in that part of the country.[2] But this was rendered unnecessary by "a remission under the privy seal, granted to William Auchterlony of Cayrine [Cairny], for resetting of John Faw and his followers," which was granted to him in the very next month. To this statement Mr. James Simson adds the following interesting note:—[3]

"The nature of this crime in Scotch law is fully explained in the following extract from the original, which also appears curious in other respects. The pardon is granted 'pro receptione, supportatione, et detentione supra terras suas de Belmadie, et infra eius habitationis domum, aliaq. edificia eiusdem, *Joannis Fall, Ethiopis, lie* [*i.e.* in common speech] *Egiptian*, eiusq. uxoris, puerorum, servorum et associatorum; Necnon pro ministrando ipsis cibum, potum, pecunias, hospicium, aliaq. necessaria, quocunq. tempore vel occasione preterita, contra acta

[1] Simson's *History of the Gipsies*, pp. 113-14. The above extract is itself taken from *Blackwood's Magazine* for 1817; "the conductor of which," says Mr. Simson, "seems to have been careful in examining the public records for the documents quoted by him, having been guided in his researches, I believe, by Sir Walter Scott."

[2] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii. 307-8.

[3] *History*, p. 113.

nostri Parliamenti vel secreti concilii, vel contra quecunq. leges, alia acta, aut constitutiones huius nostri regni Scotiae in contrarium facta.—Regist. Secreti Sigilli, vol. lxxxiii. fol. 291, *Blackwood's Magazine.*"

At Elgin, also, on the 6th of May 1620, an official of the Duke of Lennox, " by vertue of my patent, given by the Counsell, to grant remistiouns to all guilty persouns who have reset the Egyptians," granted such a remission to another landed gentleman, Alexander Gordon of Sidray.[1]

The year 1616 is marked by the trial of four Gypsies; recorded thus in the pages of Pitcairn (iii. 397):—

" Jul. 19.—Johnne Faa, Egiptiane; James Faa, his sone; Moyses Bailzie, Egiptiane; and Helene Broun, spous to Williame Bailzie, Egiptiane.

"Dilaitit of contravening of the Act of Parliament, maid in anno 1609 yeiris, in thair contemptuous repairing to this cuntrie, being repute and haldin to be Egiptianis, and abiding thairintill, nochtwithstanding thairof, &c., viz.

Dittay *against Johnne Faa, etc.*

Forsamekill as, be Act of Parliament, haldin at Edinburgh, vpone the xxiiij day of Junij, Im Vjc and nyne zeiris, it is expresslie provydit, statute, and ordanit, that all Vagabundis, Soirneris, and cowmone Thevis, cowmonlie callit Egiptianis, sould depairt furth of the kingdome, and remane perpetuallie furth thairof; and nevir to haif returnet agane within the samyn, nor be fund thairintill, eftir the first day of August thaireftir, in the foirsaid zeir of God Im Vjc and nyne zeiris, vnder the pane of deid: and that it sould be liesum to all his Maiesteis guid subiectis, or ony ane of thame, to caus tak, apprehend, imprissone, and execute to death, all maner of Egiptianis, alsweill men as wemen, as cowmoun, notorious, and condampned Thevis; only to be tryit be ane Assyse that thai ar callit, knawin, repute, and haldin Egiptianis: As the said Act of Parliament at lenth proportis. Nochtheles, it is of verritie, that the foirsaidis persones, being Egiptianis, sua callit, knawin, repute, and haldin, in contempt of the said Law and Act of Parliament, as Vagabundis, hes lurkit and remanit within this kingdome, sen the making and publicatioun of the said Act, and nawayis hes past away furth thairof: At the leist, aganis the tennour of the said Act, hes, sen the said first day of August, 1609 zeiris, repairit within this cuntrie, and ar tane and apprehendit as Vagabundis, and maisterles lymmeris and thevis, reput and haldin, knawin and callit to be Egiptianis; quhairin thay and ilk ane of thame hes contravenit the tennour of the said Act of Parliament and incurrit the panes and pwneschment mentionet thairintill; quhilk aucht and sould be inflictit vpone thame, with all rigour, to the example of vtheris of thair race and vnhappie Companie to eschew the lyk heireftir.

Persewer, Sir Williame Oliphant, knyt. Prelocutor in defence, Mr. Thomas Wilsoun, Aduocat.

It is allegit be the pannell [the accused] and thair prelocutour, that the Dittay is nawayis relevant to pas to ane Assyse, in respect it is nocht subsumet thairintill, that the persones dilaitit was within the cuntrie, the tyme of the making and the publicatioun of the said Act of Parliament, quhilk is the grund of this persute; nather yit is the pannell tane and apprehendit for ony Thift, Soirning, or Oppressioun, nor accuset thairfoir: Off all quhilkis crymes, thay ar willing to byde ane tryell: And thairfoir, the Dittay, as it is set doun aganis the pannell, can nocht

[1] *Social Life in Former Days*, 2d Series, by Captain Dunbar, 1866, p. 128.

pas to ane Assyse.—It is ansuerit be my lord Aduocat, that the allegeance aucht to be repellit, in respect of the Dittay and Act of Parliament.

"THE Justice Repellis the allegeance; and Ordanis the pannell to pas to ane Assyse.

"VERDICT. The Assyse, be the mouth of Thomas Creichtoun, mercheand in Edinburgh, chanceller, fand [found], pronuncet, and declairit the saidis *Johnne Faa*, *James Faa*, his sone, *Moyses Bailzie* and *Helene Broun*, all Vagabundis, and repute and haldin to be Egiptianis, to be fylet [filed, or recorded] culpable, and convict of contravening the tennour of the said Act of Parliament.

"THE Justice continewit the pro[n]unceatioun of Dome vpone the persones foirsaidis, quhill he be advyset with the Lordis of Secreit Counsall: And ordanit thame to be returnit to waird, to the Tolbuth of Edinburgh, in the meyne tyme."

The result of the judge's conference with the Privy Council is found in the sentence declared five days later:—

"*Jul.* 24.—SENTENCE. The Justice, in respect na cautioun [surety] could be fand be thame, for thair departour furth of his Maiesteis dominionis, and that thai sould never returne agane within the samyn during thair lyftymes, ilk ane of thame vnder the pane of ane thowseand merkis money; accoirding to ane Ordinance of the Lordis of Secreit Counsall, direct for that effect, vnder my Lord Chancelleris subscriptioun, daitit the xxiiij day of Julii instant; be the mouth of Johnne Dow, dempster of Court, Ordanit the saidis Johnne Faa, James Faa, his sone, Moyses Bailzie, and Helene Broun, Egiptianis, and sa reput and haldin, tane and apprehendit, to be tane to the Burrow-Mure of Edinburgh, and thair to be HANGIT quhill [*i.e.* until] thay be deid; and all thair moveabill guidis to be escheit, &c.

"Quhilk was pronuncet for Dome; and that, conforme to the Ordinance of the Lordis of Secreit Counsell, of the dait above expremit."

The fact that, had those Gypsies been able to find surety for their future absence from Scotland, they would have been permitted to go free, shows how strong the tendency was, in some quarters, to deal gently with them. For the mere recognition of them as "Egyptians" was itself a sentence of death, according to previous statutes. But, in the above instance, the mercy of the authorities went still further. For the Gypsies, after remaining in the prison of Edinburgh for a month after the sentence of death was pronounced, received a prorogation of that sentence; and not improbably were set entirely at liberty. This appears from a Privy Council Minute of August 28, 1616:—

"ANENT that mater of EGIPTIANIS, now lyand in the *Tolbuith of Edinburgh*, thay war only convict for contraveining the Act of Parliament, in not depairting furth of the Kingdome; and no vther cryme was layed to thair charge, and no cryme is knawin whairvpone thay may be challengit. *The Counsell* according to HIS MATIES direction, hes gewin Warrand for staying the pronouncing of Dome, till HIS MATIES farder pleasour be knawin."[1]

The clemency of the King was again displayed in a similar case, eight years later. The circumstances which occasioned it were these.

[1] Pitcairn, iii. 397, quoting from "the Denmylne MSS."

The parish of Lasswade, and notably the Vale of Roslin, situated some six or eight miles to the south-east of Edinburgh, had been for some time a favourite resort of the Gypsies; some of whom, it will be remembered, figured at the bridge of Lasswade in 1598. Whether or not it was owing to the fact that the lord of the manor of Roslin had once saved a condemned Gypsy from the gallows on the Burgh Muir, it seems beyond question that the Gypsies were accustomed to assemble every summer in the "stanks" or marsh-lands of Roslin, where they "acted several plays."[1] The numbers of the Gypsies in the neighbourhood, and the freedom they enjoyed, formed the subject of a Privy Council enactment of July 15, 1623:—

"At the time noted," says Mr. Robert Chambers, in his *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (vol. i. p. 536), "the Privy Council had their attention called to this Patmos of the outlawed race. They remark that, while the laws enjoined all persons in authority 'to execute to the deid the counterfeit thieves and limmers, the Egyptians,' it was nevertheless reported that a number of them were now within the bounds of Roslin, 'where they have a peaceable receipt and abode as if they were lawful subjects, committing stowths and reifs in all parts where they may find the occasion.' The Council, therefore, issued an order to the sheriff of the district, who happened to be Sinclair, younger of Roslin, himself, commanding him 'to pass, search, seek, hunt, follow and pursue the said vagabond thieves and limmers,' and bring them to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for due punishment."

That this was done, and a large capture made of "Faws," men, women, and children, is evident from a trial of the following January, recorded by Pitcairn. On 23d January 1624, eight of their leaders were brought to trial; on the following day they were sentenced to be hanged at the Burgh Muir (the usual place of execution); and this sentence was carried into effect before the 29th of the month. These eight Gypsies are thus styled in the indictment:—

"CAPITANE JOHNNE FAA, Robert Faa, Samuell Faa, Johnne Faa younger, Andro Faa, Williame Faa, Robert Broun, Gawin Trotter, all Egiptianis, Vagaboundis, and commoun Thevis, &c."

On the 29th of January, their widows and children were also "dilaitit" before the court for the same offence of being "Egyptians." They are described in the following terms:—

"HELENE FAA, the relict of vmqle [*i.e.* the late, or deceased] Capitane Johnne Faa; Lucrece Faa, spous to James Broun; Elspeth Faa, brether-dochter [niece] to the Capitane; Katharene Faa, relict of vmqle Eduard Faa; Meriore Faa, spous to James Faa; Jeane Faa, the relict of vmqle Andro Faa; Helene Faa, the relict of vmqle Robert Campbell; Margaret Faa, dochter to vmqle Eduard Faa; Issobell Faa, the relict of vmqle Robert Broun; Margaret Vallantyne, relict of Johnne Wilsoun; Elspeth Faa, dochter to vmqle Henrie Faa. . . . Alexander Faa, sone to Eduard Faa, Johnne Faa and Francie Faa, sones to vmqle Capitane Johnne Faa, and Harie Broun, brother to vmqle Robert Broun."

[1] See *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* ii. 5, p. 303.

These also were found guilty and sentenced to death, but their fate was referred to the King's pleasure, by a letter of the Privy Council, written to the King on the day of their conviction. The King took five or six weeks to think the matter over; but when the condemned Gypsies heard the tenor of his reply, they no doubt thought it worth waiting for. The royal letter, addressed to the Scottish Privy Council, and dated at Hampton Court, 13th March 1624, is as follows:—

"We haue vnderstood, by your Letter of the 29 of Januar last, that a nomber of these Thieves and counterfooted Vagabondis, commonlie callit Egiptianis, being apprehendit be your directioun, war thereftir put to a Criminall tryell, and being lawfullie convicted, that eight of the men wer executed, and that the rest, being aither childrene and of lesse-age, and women with chyld, or geving sucke to childrene, Ye haue therfore committed thair persones to prissone, superceiding the executione of the Sentence pronunced aganis thame, till yee should acquaynte ws, and know oure further pleasoure thairanent. In whiche regaird, these are to certefie to yow, that as We allow well of the course taiken for executeing of the men, so now, in colde bloode (these children and weemen haueing beene soe long kepte prisoneris), and cheflie in respect of that which yee wryte to be the present estaite of most part of these weemen, We can not bot inclyne to pittie and compassion of them. Wherfore, as We ar willing that their lyues be spared, soe that nather thame selues, nor any others of that kynd may be therby emboldnd to presume vpone our clemencie, yee sall caus thame act them selues to depairt, with thair childrene, furth of that our kingdome,[1] between and such a competent day as yee shall think fitting, for that effect, to prescriue; vnder the payne of death, to be inflicted (without any forder process or dome) vpone them, whersoever they can be apprehendit within our said kingdome, efter the said day. And for your putting them to libertie (nochtwithstanding the Sentence pronunced against them), vpone condition foirsaid, these shalbe vnto yow a Warrant sufficient," etc.[2]

The year 1636 furnishes us with the following item:—

"Apud Ed[r]., 10 Novembris, 1636. Forsameikle as Sir Arthure Douglas of Quhittinghame haveing latelie tane and apprehendit some of the vagabound and counterfut theives and limmars, callit Egyptianis, he presentit and delyverit thame to the Shereff-principall of the shirefdome of Edinburghe, within the constabularie of Hadington, quhair they have remained this month, or thairby; and quhairas, the keeping of thame longer within the said Tolboith, is troublesome and burdenable to *the toun of Hadington*, and fosters the saids theives in ane opinion of impunitie, to the incourageing of the rest of that infamous byke[3] of lawless limmars to continow in their theivish trade: Thairfoir, *the Lords of Secret Counsell* ordans *the Shireff of Hadinton* or his deputs to pronunce Doome and Sentence of Death aganis so manie counterfoot Theives as ar men, and aganis so manie of the weomen as wants children, Ordaning the men to be Hangit, and the weomen to be Drowned: and that suche of the weomen as hes children to be

[1] It may be noticed that, the laws of his two kingdoms being distinct and separate, this letter of the King's only applied to Scotland. Thus, the released Faws had simply to cross the Border into Northumberland, and there resume their former life; with this advantage, that, so far as English laws were concerned, they had a "clean record" to begin with. This, it is very probable, was the course they adopted.

[2] For this Letter, and the trial of these Gypsies, see Pitcairn, iii. 559-62.

[3] "Usually applied to denote a hive or nest of wasps, wild bees, or hornets."

SCOURGIT throw the burgh of Hadinton and BRUNT IN THE CHEEKE:[1] And Ordanis and commandis the Provest and Baillies of Hadinton to caus this doome be execute vpon the saidis persons accordinglie."

Among certain "articles and desires" laid before the Scottish Parliament by the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland in 1641, the tenth in number states that—

"It is humbly desired that order may be taken with sturdy beggars, Egyptians, and vagabonds, and a solid course be laid down for removing the horrible villanies committed by such persons in all time coming."[3]

This appeal did not apparently meet with a response till 1647, when the following "Answer" is (*inter alia*) recorded :—

"ITEM, for the overture anent the restraining of idle and sturdy beggars and gypsies, The estates [of Parliament] ordain the procurator of estate to consider all the Acts of Parliament made to that purpose, and to report their opinion to the next session of Parliament what is further necessary to be done to make these Acts effectual in time coming."[4]

The records of the burgh of Stirling have indicated to us,[5] by the entry of a payment "for ropes to bind the Egyptians," that a capture of Gypsies was made there in 1656; and the ominous payment which follows, "to the hangman to go through with them," seems to show that they were sent to Edinburgh for trial, and perhaps for execution. Or it may be that they lingered on in the gloom of the Edinburgh Tolbooth till the following summer, and that they formed the subject of these entries :—[6]

"Upon the 10 day of Iunij 1657, ane Egyptiane callit Phaa wes execute upon the Castlehill of Edinburgh for murthour."

"10 July 1657. Sevin Egyptianes, men & women, were scurgit throw Edinburgh, and banisched this natioun, with certificatioun gif thai returned within the same, they sould be execute to the death."

In 1661, "Commission and Instructions" were issued anew to justices and constables, by Act of Parliament, with the view of arresting Gypsies and other vagrants. And it is evident from the information contributed to our *Journal* (vol. ii. pp. 60-2) by Mr. Groome, that a great many Gypsies must have been deported to the British "plantations" in Virginia, Jamaica, and Barbadoes during the second half of the seventeenth century. That they had there to undergo a temporary, if not a "perpetual" servitude, seems very likely; for the merchants and planters who applied to the Privy

[1] The old punishment specified in the Act of 1424 against "beggars and idle men."

[2] Pitcairn, iii. 594-5 (quoted by him from the *Privy Council Register*).

[3] Thomson's *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. v. (ed. 1870), p. 646 *a*.

[4] *Op. cit.* vol. vi. p. 763 *b*.

[5] *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* ii. 64.

[6] *Nicoll's Diary*, 1650-67 (published by the Bannatyne Club), pp. 198 and 200.

Council for permission to take them, did so with the avowed intention of using them as labourers. To what extent the people of those places to-day are possessed of seventeenth-century Gypsy blood is an interesting, though perhaps a delicate question.

The year 1671 is notable in Scottish Gypsy annals as the date given for the birth of William Marshall, a famous chief of the Galloway Gypsies. "For a great period of his long life he reigned with sovereign sway over a numerous and powerful gang of Gypsy tinkers, who took their range over Carrick in Ayrshire, the Carrick Mountains, and over the stewartry and shire of Galloway; and now and then . . . they crossed at Donaghadee, and visited the counties of Down and Derry,"[1] in Ireland. He lived to the patriarchal age of one hundred and twenty, if the alleged date of his birth be correct. The most remarkable statement made regarding him is contained in the following sentence:—"He was present at the siege of Derry, where, having lost his uncle, *who commanded a king's frigate,* he returned home, enlisted into the Dutch service, went to Holland, and soon after came back to his native country."[2]

Maclaurin (Lord Dreghorn), in speaking "Of Jurors,"[3] states that formerly "they were brought *ex vicineto, i.e.* from the neighbourhood of the place where the pannels [the accused] dwelt, however distant." "In the case of the Faas, tried at Edinburgh in 1674, for sorning, murder, etc., *ten* of the jury were brought from that part of the country in which the crimes had been committed."

A Tweeddale Gypsy fray of 1677 is thus described by a local writer of the year 1715:—[4]

"Upon the first of October 1677, there happened at Romanno,[5] in the very spot where now the Dovecoat is built, a Memorable Polymachy betwixt two Clanns of Gipsies, the Fawes and Shawes, who had come from Haddingtoun Fair, and were going to the Hare-stains to meet two other Clanns of those Rogues, the Baillies and Browns, with a resolution to Fight them; they fell out at Romanno amongst themselves, about divideing the Spoyl they had got at Haddington, and fought it Manfully; of the Fawes were four Brethren and a Brother's Son; of the Shawes, the Father with three Sons, with several Women on both sides: Old Sandie Faw, a Bold and proper fellow, with his Wife then with Child, were both kill'd Dead upon the place, and his Brother George very dangerously Wounded."

The chronicler adds—

[1] *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1817.

[2] *New Annual Register*, 1792. The various accounts of this interesting Gypsy are collected in vol. ii. chap. i. of *Ancient and Modern Britons*, London, 1884.

[3] *Arguments and Decisions*: Edinburgh, 1774, p. xxvii, *et seq.*

[4] Dr. A. Pennecuik, in his *Description of the Shire of Tweeddale*, Edinburgh, 1715, pp. 14, 15.

[5] A suggestive and appropriate name for a Gypsy battle. The lands of Romanno belonged to a family bearing that surname, which became extinct in the male line about the beginning of the sixteenth century.

"February 1678. Old Robin Shaw the Gipsie, with his three Sones, were hang'd at the Grass-Me[r]cat [in Edinburgh] for the abovementioned murder, committed at Romanno, and John Faw was hang'd the Wednesday following for another murder."

From the contemporary MS. of a celebrated judge, it appears that the Faws and Shaws had intended to "chase" the Browns and Baillies back into Ireland, whence (it is stated) they had come. The execution of old Shaw is placed on 6th February, and the second execution on the 13th, when "one of the Faws, called Robert [not *John*] Faw, being convict of having killed one Young, a caird or tinker in Aberdene, was also hang'd." [1]

The traditional story of the elopement of a Countess of Cassillis with a certain "Johnnie Faw, the Gypsy laddie," is popularly placed in the first half of the seventeenth century. The story is of old standing, as is also the ballad which has helped to perpetuate it. But, according to Sir William Fraser, it has no historical basis to stand upon. That writer [2] points out that the Lady Cassillis identified as the heroine of the ballad and tale died greatly regretted by her husband, after twenty-one years of married life. And he maintains that the "great respect and tenderness for the memory of the Countess Jane" which the Earl evinced, "is quite inconsistent with the story of her elopement with the Gipsy King." It might be urged that this is a matter of opinion; and that, the Gypsy lover and his band having been hanged in front of the castle (as tradition states), the escapade may have been overlooked and eventually almost forgotten. Or, the correctness of the tale may be questioned only as regards the date fixed upon. The tradition is certainly deep-rooted. As a ballad it is very widespread, and as a story it still clings to the scene of the alleged adventure; where a ford [3] across the River Doon bears the name of "the Gypsies' Steps." But there is apparently no historical evidence to bear out the story.[4] This also is the view taken by Professor Child, who, in his *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (part vii., Boston, 1890), gives eleven different versions

[1] *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs* (printed for the Bannatyne Club), Edinburgh, 1848, p. 187. See also the *Privy Council Register*, and Simson's *History*, pp. 188-9.

[2] In his *Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton* (Edinburgh, 1859), vol. i. pp. ix-xii.

[3] More probably a series of stepping-stones.

[4] Even such a detail as the existence of a certain piece of tapestry commemorating the event (Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, i. 607) receives no confirmation at the present day; as I am assured that no such tapestry exists in the castle referred to, or is remembered by the representative of the family. Curiously enough, a piece of tapestry representing an incident in the life of these same Gypsy Faws, but of later date, is stated by Mr. Simson (*History*, p. 237) to have been preserved in a Fifeshire family, of good social position, with whom they had intermarried.

of the ballad (none of which, however, is that contributed by Mr. Sampson to the present volume of our *Journal*, p. 85).

A casual reference in one version of the Faw-Cassillis tradition suggests another Gypsy incident. The arrival of the Gypsy lover at the Countess's home is thus described:—"One evening as she was taking her accustomed walk on the battlements of the castle of Cassillis, on the left bank of the Doon, she descried a band of Gypsies hastily approaching. Such bands were very common at that period, but the number and suspicious appearance of this company were calculated to create considerable alarm. . . . On arriving at the house, however, instead of offering violence, they commenced some of their wild strains," and so on with the tale.[1] This reference to the formidable appearance then presented by a band of Gypsies is quite borne out by the many references in the statutes to their predatory habits, to the "insolencies" they committed, and to the fact that they went armed, and would "even attack the lieges with hagbuts and pistolets when opposed."[2] And the fears ascribed to the Countess of Cassillis at the sight of the Gypsy band are (whatever the truth of that tradition) quite in agreement with the following anecdote:—

"A writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* mentions that the Gipsies, late in the seventeenth century, broke into the house of Pennicuik [Mid-Lothian], when the greater part of the family were at church. Sir John Clerk, the proprietor, barricaded himself in his own apartment, where he sustained a sort of siege—firing from the windows upon the robbers, who fired upon him in return. One of them, while straying through the house in quest of booty, happened to ascend the stairs of a very narrow turret, but, slipping his foot, caught hold of the rope of the alarm bell, the ringing of which startled the congregation assembled in the parish church. They instantly came to the rescue of the laird, and succeeded, it is said, in apprehending some of the Gipsies, who were executed. There is a written account of this daring assault kept in the records of the family."[3]

Such traditional stories as these, which, whether themselves authentic or not, are founded on an actual condition of things, help one to realise the necessity for that long succession of anti-Gypsy enactments, so often ignored and so fitfully enforced. And a very partial knowledge of the feuds and jealousies that long animated the great nobles of Scotland, enables one to understand that when one of these exerted his influence to save an accused Gypsy from conviction, or when—in the face of prohibitory laws—he "resetted" and sustained a Gypsy band for weeks, or even months at a time, he was

[1] Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, i. 607.

[2] For confirmation of this practice, even in the eighteenth century, see Simson's *History*, p. 205 *n*.

[3] Simson's *History*, pp. 195-6. See also Mr. John J. Wilson's *Annals of Penicuik*: Edinburgh, 1891.

really securing for himself a not unimportant body of adherents, for occasions of private revenge or (as in the case of the Earl of Crawfurd) of treasonable revolt.[1]

The acknowledged leader of the Baillie tribe in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and until his death in 1724, was the celebrated "Captain William Baillie." The year 1695 seems the earliest date obtainable regarding him; at which period, says one writer,[2] "he appears in no very creditable light in the records of the Presbytery of Biggar [in the south of Scotland]. On the 9th of June 1695, Margaret Shankland, being summoned, compeared before that reverend court, and judicially confessed the crime of adultery with William Baillie, the Gipsy." He is elsewhere styled "William Baillie, brazier, commonly called Gipsy."[3] The fact that a man so styled should also be "known all over the country"[4] as "Captain Baillie," or otherwise as "Mr. Baillie," and that he should have, as he is stated to have had, the bearing and breeding of a gentleman, forms not only an illustration of the superior position of high-caste Gypsies in former times, but it also indicates that the "brazier" caste had not, in the seventeenth century, entirely lost the importance which, as Mr. Leland points out in these pages,[5] it once possessed. The account which Mr. Simson, senior,[6] gives of this celebrated chief is well worth transcribing here:—

"The extraordinary man Baillie, who is here so often mentioned, was well-known in Tweeddale and Clydesdale; and my great-grandfather, who knew him well, used to say that he was the handsomest, the best dressed, the best looking, and the best bred man he ever saw. As I have already mentioned, he generally rode one of the best horses the kingdom could produce; himself attired in the finest scarlet, with his greyhounds following him, as if he had been a man of the first rank . . . He acted the character of the gentleman, the robber, the sorner, and the tinker, whenever it answered his purpose. He was considered, in his time, the best swordsman in all Scotland. With this weapon in his hand, and his back at a wall, he set almost everything, saving firearms, at defiance. His sword is still preserved by his descendants, as a relic of their powerful ancestor. The stories that are told of this splendid Gipsy are numerous and interesting."

"Before any considerable fair, if the gang were at a distance from the place where it was to be held, whoever of them were appointed to go went singly, or, at most, never above two travelled together. A day or so after, Mr. Baillie himself

[1] In passing, it may be noticed that Sir Walter Scott had recognised the formidable character of the Gypsy gangs in times anterior to his own, when, in describing the appearance of a certain old Scottish manor-house, he employs these words:—"Neither did the front indicate absolute security from danger. There were loop-holes for musketry, and iron stanchions on the lower windows, probably to repel any roving band of Gipsies, or resist a predatory visit from the caterans of the neighbouring Highlands" (*Waverley*, ch. viii.).

[2] The author of *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 404.

[3] Simson's *History of the Gipsies*, p. 206. [4] *Ibid.* p. 208.

[5] *Ante*, p. 322. Mr. Leland speaks of the workers in *bronze*, but this is a distinction without any real difference, the Gypsies being notable bronze-workers.

[6] *History*, p. 202; also, p. 197.

followed, mounted like a nobleman; and, as journeys in those days were almost all performed on horseback, he sometimes rode for many miles with gentlemen of the first respectability in the country. And as he could discourse readily and fluently on almost any topic, he was often taken to be some country gentleman of property, as his dress and manners seemed to indicate."

Two other "Baillie" extracts are these:—

"On the 13th of December 1698, John Baillie, and six other Baillies, with one of their wives, were arraigned for being Egyptians, and for sundry misdeeds, and being all convicted except the woman, were ordered to be hanged." [1]

The second extract is from Chambers's *Domestic Annals*:[2]—

"William Baillie, 'ane Egyptian,' prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, but regarding whom we hear of no specific crime or offence, was summarily ordered (Sept. 12, 1699) to be transported in the first ship going to the plantations, the skipper to be allowed a proper gratuity from the treasury, and at the same time to give caution [security] for five hundred merks that he would produce a certificate of the man being landed in America.—*Privy Council Record.*"

If he ever was "landed in America," it is evident he did not remain there for the rest of his days. For this same William Baillie again appears as brought to justice sixteen years later. In September 1715, he and his brother (?) John Baillie are arraigned as Egyptians, liable to death under the Act of 1609; and, moreover, William is charged "with being art and part in forging and using a forged pass or certificate." It is further set forth against him

"That he had been formerly, in 1699, convicted of the same crimes, and sentenced by the justiciary to be hanged: That the Privy Council had commuted this sentence into banishment; but under the express condition, that if ever he returned to this country, the former sentence should be executed against him; and that he gave bond, under the penalty of 500 merks, 'to obtemper the same, by and attour [besides] undergoing of the said pains of death in case of contravention thereof.' Which sentence, and appointment of the Privy Council, he had manifestly contravened by his returning again to Scotland."

The arguments for the defence need not be repeated here. It is enough to record that, on 7th September 1715—

"The jury brought in a special verdict as to the sorning, but said nothing at all as to any other point: all they found proved was, That William, in March and April 1713, had taken possession of a barn without consent of the owners; and that during his abode in it, there was corn taken out of the barn; and he went away without paying anything for his quarters, or for any corn during his abode, which was for several days; and that he was habite and repute an Egyptian, and did wear a pistol and shable [a kind of sabre]."

"Upon this, *September* 8, 1715, the pannels were dismissed from the bar." [3]

A most amusing *non sequitur*; which would be quite inexplicable, in the face of the immense array of statutes making every "Egyptian" liable to death, were it not for the fact that the ends of justice were defeated over and over again by the private influence which the Gypsies undoubtedly possessed.

[1] *Biggar and the House of Fleming*: Edinburgh, 1867, p. 403. [2] Vol. iii. (1861), p. 116.
[3] Maclaurin's *Arguments and Decisions*, etc., Edinburgh, 1774, pp. 57-9.

The event last-named does not strictly come within the period under our consideration, as the Stewart line had come to an end in the previous year. The same objection does not hold in the case of a famous "Process against the Egyptians," at Banff, in November 1700. This trial may be seen at length in the *Miscellany of the Spalding Club* (Aberdeen, 1846, vol. iii., pp. 175-191). The chief figure was James Macpherson, immortalised by Burns in his "Macpherson's Lament"; and with him were Patrick Brown (nominal "captain" of the band), Donald Brown, and James Gordon; all four described as "notorious Gipsies." One witness testified "that he heard them speak a language which he understood not,[1] and which was not the Irish [*i.e.* Gaelic] tongue"; and others gave similar evidence. They were all[2] pronounced by the verdict

"To be known, holden, and repute to be Egiptians and wagabonds and oppressors of his Majesties frie lieges in ane bangstrie manner, and going up and down the country armed, and keeping mercats in ane hostile manner,"[3] etc., etc.

The four were accordingly sentenced to death.

"And further the Shirreff Deput ordains the three young rogues now in prison that, this day, their ears be cropt, [themselves] publictlie scourged through the toune of Banff, and burnt upon the cheek by the executioner, and banished the shyre for ever under the paine of death."

The month of May 1714 witnessed a trial of Gypsies at Jedburgh. As unquestionable "Egyptians" they were sentenced to banishment, "with the exception of Janet Stewart, who was scourged through the burgh, and afterwards stood a quarter of an hour with her left ear[4] nailed to a post at the cross." The others "were conveyed from Jedburgh to Glasgow in carts with a guard, and in the Town Council books of the burgh there is a receipt for their bodies by the jailer of the Tolbooth of Glasgow."[5] There they remained until, on 1st January 1715, the Glasgow magistrates arranged with the skipper and owners of the ship "Greenock" for the conveyance of the

[1] See Simson's *History*, pp. 207 and 133 for similar statements as to the language of Scottish Gypsies, in 1724 and 1770 respectively.

[2] In spite of the fact that two of them (the Browns) were strenuously defended by the procurators of the Laird of Grant, on the plea that they were his tenants.

[3] That is, overawing the crowd at fairs by threats of violence. For an illustration of this in Tweeddale, see p. 196 of Simson's *History*.

[4] This reference shows that, although Mr. Simson (*History*, p. 203) points to a Gypsy who had lost both ears, yet the punishment of nailing and cutting off the "ears" referred only to *one* ear of each individual; and not both ears as interpreted by Mr. Simson. Indeed, so far as concerns "nailing to the tron or other tree," it is obvious that the unlucky culprit could not be fastened by both ears at once. (It may be noted that the penalty of burning on the cheek, practised on the Gypsy boys at Banff, in 1700, dates from 1424; the nailing and cropping of the ear from 1449.)

[5] Jeffrey's *Historical Account of Roxburghshire*: Edinburgh, 1836, p. 327.

Gypsies to America.[1] This occurrence, however, ought not properly to be included within our limits, as the Stewart dynasty ceased on the death of its last representative, Queen Anne, on 1st August 1714.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

V.—NOTES ON THE GYPSIES OF RUSSIA.

THROUGH the courtesy of Professor F. Jezbera, of the University of Warsaw, I am enabled to communicate some notes with regard to the Russian Gypsies, their language and their songs.

The number of Gypsies living in Russia does not exceed 50,000. In Russian Bessarabia there are 17,500 Gypsies, and 7500 in the Crimea. The rest are scattered throughout the provinces of Woronez, Cherson, Charkow, Moscow, Novgorod, Pskov, and Riazan, and in the Caucasus and Siberia.

As a specimen of their language we subjoin a prayer:—

"*O mro Diewla! rak tu man, e bibachtar, the tu, mry maszkary swento! de tu mange bacht the rak tu mren czawen.*" (O my God! keep me from evil, and thou my holy Mediator! [the Mother of God] give me happiness, and protect my children.)

Mro, mry = mine (masc. and fem.); *Diewla* (being the vocative case) is formed from *Diewiel* = God; *rak* is from *rakaw* = I keep; *tu* = thou; *man* is formed from *me* = I, or me; *e* (conjunction, *ta*); *bibachtar* is a compound of *bi* = without, and *bacht* = happiness; *the* = and; *maszkary* = ambassadress, otherwise *maszkaro* (m.) *maszkary* (f.), intermediary; *swento* = holy; *de* is from *daw* = I give; *mange* is the dat. and acc. of *me; mren* is the acc. plur. of *maro* or *mro* (fem. *mri*) = mine; *czawen* is the acc. plur. of *czawo* = child.

GYPSY SONG.

Sar ó Roma pro tarho helje,—
Sar ó Roma pireporudje,—
Sare pirebikindje;
Tolki me na parudom,
The na bikindom!
Din dobry, din dobry
Tumengie, Romnjate!
Na djakie tumengje,

[1] As detailed in our *Journal*, ii. 1, pp. 61-2.

Sir tumareng'
Hozeneng' czajengie!
Sir tumjen
Tumaren czajen
Na gierawiena
Tal o pernicy—
Me tumen
Piro wjesz
Roztradawa,
The tumarjen czajen
Pał romieskie ława!

TRANSLATION.

All the Gypsies have gone to the market,—all the Gypsies have bartered,—all sold; only I have not bartered, and I have not sold! Good day, good day to you, Gypsies! Not so much to you as to your lovely girls! Because you do not keep your daughters under feather coverlets I will pursue you into the forest, and I will marry among your daughters!

Sar = all; *o* = the (masc. *o*, fem. *e*,—as in *o dad*, the father, *e daj*, the mother, *e bibi*, the aunt, *o roma*, the men); *Roma* is pl. of *Rom* = Gypsy, or "man"; *pro* = upon, to the; *tarho* = market; *helje* = 3d pers. pl. of *dzaw*, I go,—*helom*, I have gone, *heljat*, thou hast gone, *heljas*, he has gone, *heljam*, *heljan*, *helje*, we, you, they have gone. *Pireporudje* = 3d pers., from *pire*, *poruwaw*, I exchange. *Pirebikindje* = 3d pers. of *pire* (by) and *bikenaw*, I sell. *Tolki* = only; *me* = I; *na* = not; *parudom* = 1st pers. of *paruwaw* = I exchange; *the* = and; *bikindom* = 1st pers. of *bikienaw* = I sell; *Tumengie* = ye, derived from *tu* = thou; *Romnjate*, from *Romny* = Gypsy woman; *djake* = so, as much; *sir* = as, how much; *tumareng*, derived from *tumaro*, *tumary* = your; *hozeneng*, = fresh; *czaeng* is plur. of *czaj* = girl; *tumen* = ye; *tumaren*, from *tumaro* = your; *gerawena*, 2d pers. plur. of *gerawaw* = I keep; *pernicy*, from *pernica* = coverlet; *piro* = by, into; *wjesz* = forest; *roztradawa* = 1st pers. sing. of "to pursue"; *pał* = for; *romieskie*, from *roma*; *ława* = 1st pers. sing. of "to take."

VLADISLAV KORNEL DE ZIELIŃSKI.

VI.—AN EPISODE FROM THE LIFE OF SIR RICHARD BURTON.

IN our obituary notice of the late Sir Richard Burton,[1] mention was made of a certain Gypsy woman named Hagar Burton, who, Sir Richard stated, had been instrumental, to some extent, in shaping his destiny. This reference has been fully explained by Lady Burton, who, in favouring us with some account of her illustrious husband, writes as follows :—

In the January number of the *Gypsy Lore Journal* a passage is quoted from "a short sketch of the career" of my husband—(a little black shilling pamphlet)—which half suspects a remote drop of Gypsy blood in him. There is no proof that this was ever the case, but there is no question that he shared many of their peculiarities in appearance, disposition, and speech—speaking Romani like themselves. Nor did we ever enter a Gypsy camp without their claiming him: "What are you doing with a black coat on?" they would say; "why don't you join us and be our King?"

He had the peculiar eye, which looked you through, glazed over, and saw something behind you. He had the restlessness which could stay nowhere long, nor own any spot on earth—the same horror of a corpse, or anything which was in the slightest degree ghoulish—the same aptitude for reading the hand at a glance. With many, he would drop it at once and turn away, nor would anything induce him to speak a word about it.

You quote a letter of his to Mr. James Pincherle, a dear old friend of ours, where he relates the influence that a Gypsy named Hagar Burton had upon his life. I will now tell you the story, which will reappear in his biography if I live to finish it.

When I was a girl in the schoolroom in the country, I was enthusiastic about Gypsies, Bedouin Arabs, everything Eastern and mysterious, and especially wild, lawless life. Disraeli's *Tancred* was my second Bible. I was strictly forbidden to associate with the Gypsies in our lanes, which was my delight. When they were only travelling tinkers or basket-menders I was very obedient, but wild horses would not have kept me out of the camps of the Oriental, yet English-named, tribes of Burton, Cooper, Stanley, Osbaldiston, and one other whose name I forget. My particular friend was Hagar Burton, a tall, slender, handsome, distinguished, refined woman, of

[1] *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* ii. 5, p. 318.

much weight in the tribe. Many an hour have I passed with her, and many a little service I did them when any of them were sick or had got into a scrapè with the farmers or squires anent poultry or eggs and other things. At last a time came when we were to go to school in France, and my departure was regretted by them. The last day I ever saw Hagar, she cast my horoscope, and wrote it in Romani. The rest of the tribe presented me with a straw fly-catcher of many colours, which I still have. The horoscope was translated to me by her, and I give you the most important part concerning my husband.

"You will cross the sea, and be in the same town with your destiny, and know it not. Every obstacle will rise up against you, and such a combination of circumstances, that it will require all your courage and energy and intelligence to meet them. Your life will be like one always swimming against big waves, but God will always be with you, so you will always win. You will fix your eye on your polar star, and you will go for that without looking right or left. *You will bear the name of our Tribe and be right proud of it. You will be as we are, but far greater than we.* Your life is all wandering, change, and adventure. One soul in two bodies, in life or death; never long apart. Show this to the man you take for your husband. —HAGAR BURTON."

After we were engaged, I gave the horoscope in Romani to my husband. It was when he was setting out in October 1856 with Speke for the discovery of Tanganyika. We had been engaged about a fortnight, we had passed several hours together, and he appointed to come next day at four o'clock in the afternoon. I went to bed quite happy, but I could not sleep at all. At two A.M. the door opened, and he came into my room. A current of warm air came towards my bed. He said "Good-bye, my poor child. My time is up, and I have gone, but do not grieve. I shall be back in less than three years, and *I am your destiny.* Good-bye."

He held up a letter—looked long at me with those Gypsy eyes, and went slowly out, shutting the door. I sprang out of bed to the door, into the passage—there was nothing—and thence into the room of one of my brothers. I threw myself on the ground and cried my heart out. He got up, asked me what ailed me, and tried to soothe and comfort me. "Richard is gone to Africa," I said, "and I shall not see him for three years." "Nonsense," he replied, "you have only got a nightmare. You told me he was coming at four in the afternoon." "So I did; but I have seen him, and he told me this; and if you wait

till the post comes in, you will see I have told you truly." I sat all the night in my brother's arm-chair, and at eight o'clock, when the post came in, there was a letter to one of my sisters, enclosing one for me. "He had found it too painful to part, and had thought we should suffer less that way—begged her to break it gently to me, and to give me the letter" (which assured me we should be reunited in 1859—as we were on the 25th May of that year). He had left London at six o'clock the previous evening, eight hours before I saw him in the night.

This is the story of Hagar Burton. We have mixed a great deal since with Gypsies, in all parts of the world, and have sought her in vain. The other Gypsies have chiefly warned us of having to fight through our lives, and to be perpetually on guard against treacheries and calumnies "*chiefly through jealous men and nasty women.*" Well, we have mostly left them to God, and they nearly always come to grief. I may add that all that Hagar Burton foretold came true, and I pray God it may be so to the end, *i.e.* "never long apart" in Life *or* Death.

ISABEL BURTON.

REVIEWS.

Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune-Telling: Illustrated by numerous Incantations, Specimens of Medical Magic, Anecdotes, and Tales. By CHARLES GODFREY LELAND, President of the Gypsy Lore Society. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1891.

IN the goodly volume before us Mr. Leland has made a contribution of the first moment to special Gypsy studies on the one hand, and to the wider study of Folk-lore on its magical side on the other. The work takes a place filled by no other book with which we are acquainted, and no serious student of Folk-lore hereafter can afford to neglect it. And it is an unlooked for pleasure to find combined in one and the same book a store of erudition worthy of the most painful and laborious German *savant*, and a literary grace and charm to which he is too frequently a stranger. Mr. Leland's dexterous and versatile pen has already written much that the world will not willingly let die, but we question if he has written anything that will more securely defy "the poppy of oblivion," in Sir Thomas Browne's phrase, than the great work before us. And the quaint and curious illustrations from the author's own pencil are quite worthy of his text, and add a fresh chaplet of distinction to the brows of the versatile and cosmopolitan creator of Hans Breitmann.

Mr. Leland acknowledges his indebtedness to his friends Dr. H. von Wlislocki, Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss of Vienna, Dr. Anton Herrmann of Budapest, Professor Dragomanoff, and Mr. David MacRitchie of Edinburgh, the erudite founder of the Gypsy Lore Society; but every page of his book betrays a close and first-hand acquaintance with the living sources of knowledge of sorcery, as well as the works of past-masters like Grimm, Horst, Wuttke, Lenormant and Liebrecht, and such obscure old writers as Marcellus Burdigalensis, Paulus Grillandus, Delrio, Peter Pipernus, John Praetorius, John Valentine Merbitz, and Pierre de Lancre.

In his Preface Mr. Leland sketches boldly the scope and aim of his book, and places its justification broadly on the statement that Gypsies have done more than any other race or class to disseminate among the multitude a belief in fortune-telling, magical or sympathetic cures, amulets and such small sorceries as now find a place in Folk-lore. Their women have all pretended to possess occult power since prehistoric times. By the exercise of their wits they have actually acquired a certain art of reading character or even thought, which, however it be allied to deceit, is in a way true in itself, and well worth careful examination. He proceeds to point out that even deceit and imposture never held its own as a system without *some* groundwork of truth, and goes on to assert that there are good grounds for believing that the greatest portion of Gypsy magic was brought by the Romany from the East or India. "This is specially true as regards those now dwelling in Eastern Europe. And it is certainly interesting to observe that among these people there is still extant, on a very extended scale indeed, a Shamanism which seems to have come from the same Tartar-Altaic source which was found of yore among the Accadian Babylonians, Etruscan races, and Indian hill-tribes—fragments of a primitive religion, or cult, still existing, under very different names, in the most enlightened centres of civilisation." Mr. Leland's apology of Folk-lore is expressed in wise and weighty words, which will strike a responsive chord in the breast of every one of its thousand students: "There is nothing whatever in the past relating to the influences which have swayed man, however strange, eccentric, superstitious, or even repulsive they may seem, which is not of great and constantly increasing value. And if we of the present time begin already to see this, how much more important will these facts be to the men of the future, who, by virtue of more widely extended knowledge and comparison, will be better able than we are to draw wise conclusions undreamed of now.

But the chief conclusion for us is to *collect* as much as we can, while it is yet extant, of all the strange lore of the olden time, instead of wasting time in forming idle theories about it. . . . What is wanted in the present state of Folk-lore, I here repeat, is *collection* from original sources and materials, that is, from people and not merely from books. The critics we have—like the poor—always with us, and a century hence we shall doubtless have far better ones than those in whom we now rejoice—or sorrow. But *material* abides no time, and an immense quantity of it which is world-old perishes every day. For with general culture and intelligence we are killing all kinds of old faiths with wonderful celerity. The time is near at hand when it will all be incredibly valuable, and then men will wish sorrowfully enough that there had been more collectors to accumulate and fewer critics to detract from their labours and to discourage them. For the collector *must* form his theory or system, great or small, good or bad, such as it is, in order to gather his facts: and then the theory is shattered by the critic and the collection made to appear ridiculous. And so collection ends."

Mr. Leland is profoundly convinced that divination and fetichism still hold the ignorant and criminal classes firmly, and remain among the lower strata of the population parallel with the higher stages of civilisation. He proceeds: "The very first efforts of the human mind towards the supernatural were gloomy, strange, and wild; they were of witchcraft and sorcery, dead bodies, defilement, deviltry, and dirt. Men soon came to believe in the virtue of the repetition of certain rhymes or spells in connection with dead men's bones, hands, and other horrors or 'relics.' To this day this old religion exists exactly as it did of yore, wherever men are ignorant, stupid, criminal, or corresponding to their prehistoric ancestors. I myself have seen a dead man's hand for sale in Venice." Indeed in our books of fate, interpretations of dreams, and the new revival of interest in palmistry and the like, not to speak of Spiritualism, Theosophy, Psychical Research Societies, the Salvation Army, Anglo-Israel, Faith-healing, Millenarianism, and the craze for reading in modern politics the fulfilment of old Hebrew prophecy, we see what strange freaks of fancy are possible even in a rationalistic age. Only the other day a new *Journal of Astrology* was started in London, and at this moment it is not uncommon for devout Christian parents, on the birth of a child, to send the Astronomer-Royal a remittance in postage-stamps, with the day and hour of the infant's birth, and a request for his horoscope by return of post. Primitive religion grew

out of the terror of unknown natural forces, and the dread of ghosts more powerful after death than they had been in life. Hence sacrifices naturally originate to appease these unknown forces, and the function of the priest and magician are created by the necessity for their aid. All diseases and disasters, nightmares, pain, and death itself are recognised as the work of malignant spirits, whose enmity can only be allayed by sacrifices and ceremonies, the secret of which is the possession of the mediator or magician specially giftéd by a spiritual sense to see into the unseen. The sorcerer stands aloof from the ordinary adoration of spiritual powers, employing occult faculties and devices which are supposed to be within his own control, and confounding objective and subjective relations, his scanty knowledge of natural causes filled up with hypothetical causes of a metaphysical and supernatural character. Magic, says Bastian, is the physics of mankind in the state of nature. It rests on the beginning of induction, and is a sincere enough, though a fallacious philosophy, perversely twisted at the outset by an elemental confusion between the *post hoc* and the *propter hoc*. Through a kind provision of Mother Nature the sorcerer usually ends by being the dupe of his own powers, and thus magic develops into elaborate and systematic pseudo-science, as we have seen in augury, divination, the scriptural theory of possession, oneiromancy, and astrology. But it early becomes differentiated from religion, as entirely divorced from moral considerations; and thus we find a broadly marked contrast between legitimate and illegitimate means of contact with the divine—adoration, prayer, inspiration, mysticism, worship, vows, oracles, miracles, omens, ordeals, and signs, on the one hand; theurgy, thaumaturgy, occult arts, mesmerism, manipulation, mumbo-jumbo, and imposture, on the other. After the introduction of Christianity all the old heathen notions and practices became in course of time branded as wicked delusions of the devil, and sorcery and magic soon came to be specially associated with the negation of all good and open opposition to the divine purpose. St. Augustine finally formulated the orthodox opinion of Western Christianity on the subject in a special treatise, *De Divinatione Daemonum*, and attributed the effects apparently produced by the operations of the sorcerer to the intervention of the wicked angels who delighted to burlesque the divine methods, and cause false dreams, visions, and prophetic inspirations, resembling in everything save their origin those so often vouchsafed to the saints. Side by side with this continued to exist a more innocent divination which still forms the

kernel of our popular folk-lore, and constantly finds its support in the fancied proofs that strike the mind of a primitive people who forget or overlook the misses in their eagerness to verify the hits. For, indeed, the persistent tendency to believe what one wishes to believe, and the inherent human craving for mysteries and wonders will account for any belief. "The human understanding," says Bacon, "when any proposition has been once laid down (either from general admission and belief, or from the pleasure it affords), forces everything else to add fresh support and confirmation; and although most cogent and abundant instances may exist to the contrary, yet either does not observe or despises them, or gets rid of and rejects them by some distinction, with violent and injurious prejudice, rather than sacrifice the authority of its first conclusions." The contempt of superior persons, proud of a thin veneer of culture, for the imperfect philosophy of earlier stages of civilisation, is itself as unphilosophical as these earlier superstitions themselves, for the reign of imperfect analogy—the foundation of all magical processes—is by no means at an end in religion, philosophy, and the business of life generally. And, indeed, it is only yesterday, in spite of all our culture, that it has been dismissed from the severer world of natural and physical science; and we are still dominated by the influence of gloomy intellectual and spiritual shadows that were long since generated amid the fantastic mists of the unknown, out of the juxtaposition of faith and reason. Man will continue to walk *by faith*, far more than *by sight*, even when he has weighed the solid earth and numbered the heavens, and solved every one of the unsolvable problems of the universe. So long as our life is fringed around with darkness, so long as the majestic shadow of death hangs over our future, man will continue to weave his speculations on the elemental causes of things, and, conscious of himself as an active cause, project his own shadows on the mists of the unknown, and people the void with figures, originally subjective indeed, but next objectively presenting themselves to his imagination. Mystery will continue to abide with us to the end, and we can find proof enough of this in the present universality of irrational elements in our folk-lore, mythology, and religion—the true *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* of mythology, as Mr. Lang calls it with more than his usual point and felicity. For what is mythology but the natural product of a constant condition of the human mind, in which things, that to one man seem natural and rational, to another seem unnatural and irrational? The direct interference of spirits in the affairs of every-

day life, magic, and witchcraft were but yesterday avowedly part and parcel of the ordinary cosmic philosophy of mankind; but have they disappeared to-day? Is it not rather the case that the necessity for irrationality is a persistent quantity in the complex nature of man, and that stripped of it he is robbed of one of his best supports against helplessness, doubt and despair? The religious sentiment ever needs some material support to cling to, and without the saving grace of mere mundane art to lean upon will soon become unsympathetic, unreal, and impossible. This is the philosophy of fetichism and idolatry, but it is none the less the source of inspiration from which have directly flowed the divine Madonnas of the great Italian masters, those magnificent sermons in stones—the Gothic cathedrals of Western Europe, and all the noble music that has been laid as a tribute of genius on the altars of religion. The earlier stages of idolatry are *naturism*, or the worship of mere objects personified, and *animism*, or the belief in spirits as distinct from things which they may have as their habitation. A further stage is reached when the idol is regarded as a symbolic representation, like the Madonna and Child which warms the piety of the faithful in Catholic churches, the doll which helps the child to form the idea of distinct personality, or the photograph which brings the love of a distant mother the more quickly to the heart of an Australian colonist. Yet the idol is often confounded with the idea of which it was the symbol, for it is not merely the primitive mind that is prone to confound a subjective relation with an objective one. To make the image of an object is to reproduce it, and it is easy to pass from the visible representation of an object to its invisible and spiritual realisation. Hence the philosophy of magically injuring an enemy by torturing his wax-image, as well as such well-known usages of our modern civilisation as burning an unpopular politician in effigy, or cherishing a lock of the hair of some one that we love. Enough has been said to defend the philosophic basis of magical processes, and it is time to turn to Mr. Leland's brilliant pages for a new and subtle defence, admirably worked out of materials brought from a region into which the present writer, as a mere rationalist, and yet a specialist in magic withal, hardly dares to enter.

"Magic is the production of that which is not measured by the capacity of the conscious working will. The dream spirit, or that which knows all our memories, and which combines, blends, separates, scatters, unites, confuses, intensifies, beautifies, or makes terrible all the persons, scenes, acts, events, tragedies, or comedies known to us, can, if it pleases, by instantaneous reasoning or intuition, perceive what waking common sense does not. We visit a sick man, and the

dream spirit, out of the inexhaustible hoards of memory aided by association, which results in a subtle, occult *reasoning*, perceives that the patient will die in a certain time, and this result is served up in a dramatic dream. The amount of miracles, mysteries, apparitions, omens, and theurgia which the action of these latent faculties cause, or seem to cause, is simply illimitable, for no man knows how much he knows. Few, indeed, are the ordinary well-educated Europeans of average experience of life, whose memories are not inexhaustible encyclopædias, and whose intellects are not infinite; if all that is really in them could be wakened from slumber, 'know thyself,' would mean 'know the universe.' Now, there are people who, without being able to say *why*, are often inspired by this power which intuitively divines or guesses without revealing the process to common sense. They look into the eye of a person—something in glances and tones, gestures, mien, and address, suggests at once an assertion or a prediction which proves to be true. Considering that the dream-power has millions of experiences or images at its command, that it flits over them all like lightning, that it can combine, abstract, compare, and deduct, that it being, so to speak, more of a thaumaturgical artist than anything else, excels waking wisdom in subtle trickery, the wonder is, not that we so often hear of marvellous, magical, inexplicable wonders, but that they are not of daily or hourly occurrence. When we think of what we might be if we could master *ourselves*, and call on the vast sea of knowledge which is in the brain of every one who reads these lines, to give strict reckoning of its every wave and every drop of water, and every shell, pebble, wreck, weed, or grain of sand over which it rolls, and withal master the forces which make its tides or storms, *then* we may comprehend that all the wonder-working power attributed to all the sorcerers of olden time was nothing compared to what we really have within us. It is awful, it is mysterious, it is terrible to learn this tremendous truth that we are indeed within ourselves magicians gifted with infinite intellectual power—which means the ability to know and do all things. In the past men surmised the existence of this infinite memory, this power of subtle research and combination, but between them and the truth in every land and time interposed the idea of objective spiritual or *supernatural* existences, whose aid or medium was necessary to attain to wisdom. Outside of us was always Somebody Else to be invoked, conciliated, met in vision or trance, united to in spiritual unity or syncope. Sometimes they hit upon some form of hypnotism or mesmerism, opiates or forced swoons and convulsions, and so extorted from the nerves and dream-power some of their secrets which were all duly attributed to the 'spirits.' But in the whole range of occult literature from Hermes Trismegistus down to Madame Blavatsky there is not a shade of a suspicion that all the absolutely authentic marvels of magic began and ended with man himself."

In another passage Mr. Leland hints at the charm of what may be called the romantic side of this old-world sorcery, to which the Gypsy from his particular environment is peculiarly sensitive: "Civilised people who read about Red Indian sorcerers and Gipsy witches, very promptly conclude that they are all humbugs and lunatics—they do not realise how these people, who pass half their lives in wild places, watching waving grass and falling waters, and listening to the brook until its cadence speaks in real song, believe in their inspirations, and feel that there is the same mystical feeling and presence in all things that live and move and murmur as well as in themselves. Now we have against this the life of the clubs and

of family, of receptions and business, factories and stock-markets, newspapers and 'culture.' Absolutely no one who lives 'in the movement' can understand this sweet old sorcery. But nature is eternal, and while grass grows and rivers run man is ever likely to fall again into the eternal enchantments. And truly, until he does he will have no new poetry, no fresh art, and must go on copying old ideas, and having wretched worn-out exhibitions in which there is not one original idea."

In Mr. Leland's sixteen chapters is collected the richest store of material on this subject ever brought together, and the reader would scarcely thank us did we try to do aught else than merely serve as a finger-post to the book itself. While every page throughout is valuable, we may select Chapters XI. and XII., on Gypsy witchcraft and fortune-telling, as the most valuable and original. These are rich in philosophical generalisations on the magical power innate in man, and the manner in which it may be developed, the principles of fortune-telling, with historical instances of Gypsy prediction being verified by fact. Earlier chapters discuss Gypsy conjurations and charms, incantations, exorcisms, and spells; the magical properties of garlic and shoes, egg-lore, bogeys, and humbugs; charms to cure animals, to stop the flow of blood, and avert diseases; to recover stolen property; love-charms, and philtres, and the means of inducing pregnancy, and a safe and early delivery. Other chapters deal with South Slavonian witch-lore, Roumanian sorceries and superstitions, and witch-meetings; while two chapters on amulets, and on toads and toad-lore complete the volume. But the foregoing meagre summary can indicate only a few of the subjects treated in Mr. Leland's work, which we are certain will long retain its position as the richest collection of material elucidating many sides of an ever interesting problem.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

Volksdichtungen der Siebenbürgischen und Südungarischen Zigeuner. Gesammelt und aus unedirten Originaltexten übersetzt von Dr. Heinrich von Wlislocki. Wien: Verlag von Carl Graeser, 1890.

By this admirable work, appropriately dedicated to the Archduke Joseph of Austria, the learned author has once more laid all Gypsiologists under a deep debt of gratitude. All students seriously interested in the "affairs of Egypt" know Dr. H. von Wlislocki's

preceding books, two of which, his *Märchen und Sagen der Transilvanischen Zigeuner* (Berlin, 1886), and *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke* (Hamburg, 1890), have already been reviewed in this *Journal*. The present work is a worthy successor to these, and may be commended generally to our readers as one of the most important contributions to its subject made in recent years. The first part, embracing 175 pages, is what corresponds most closely to the title; the second part contains within 252 pages as many as 100 *Märchen und Sagen*, most of which are fresh contributions to our Gypsy folk-tales—one of the most interesting, and, we venture to say, not the least important, section of Gypsiology.

The six chapters of the first part are devoted respectively to songs, children's songs and rhymes, ballads and romances, magical formulas and incantations, riddles, and proverbs. These are all translated with complete faithfulness into simple and unpretentious, yet lucid and effective German verse, and preserve closely the form of the original. Taken together they form a complete picture of the life of the Gypsy as he still exists in Transylvania and Southern Hungary. Their contents are only *not new* in so far as the elemental emotions of mankind, from which spring all lyrics, are old as Adam, though ever new in the conscious experience of the thousand generations of his sons. Here we find anew the old undertone of sorrow, the passionate delight of first love, the pain of separation, the agony of mistrust, the dumb despair of the betrayed, the hopeless misery of the separating grave. These are the common emotions of humanity, and they are here artistically wrought into poetic expression, simple, direct, vivid, and overpoweringly truthful. And they are instinct with power to make themselves sympathetically renewed within the imagination of the reader—the sovereign test of value in lyrical poetry. These verses have an artless *naïveté* and unconsciousness of art, an unwrought spontaneity and genuineness, the true simplicity born of the absence of self-consciousness—out of the singer's capacity for forgetting himself in his song. They are thus absolutely free from affectation and unreality, and bear broad upon their surface the royal stamp of nature. Dr. von Wlislocki tells us that for almost ten years he has lived in close intimacy with tent-Gypsies, often sojourning with them for a month together, and he has certainly put to good profit even his exceptional opportunities. He has thus been able to discover and give to the world a store of original folk-poetry of quite extraordinary interest and value, alike to the mere unlearned lover of poetry for itself, and

to the erudite student of comparative folk-song. It were easy to point out a hundred striking parallels with the content, if not the form, of folk-songs and ballads of other races—the task may safely be left to the all-seeing eye of Professor Child of Harvard. Meantime all who have ears to detect the true lyrical cry may be directed to Dr. von Wlislocki's pages, and we venture to hope that some honest Englishman or American with an ear for metres will make it his business to prepare a workmanlike translation of our author's German.

The sympathies of the student of folk-song usually extend to folk-tales also, so the latter part of the volume before us with its hundred stories will doubtless find its readers also. In the first place these stories have the one saving merit of being genuine undoctored products of honesty wedded to intelligence; they preserve the straightforwardness and simplicity of the original, and are, what all folk-tales should be, but what few unhappily are, mirrors in which the faces of rustic beauties are to be represented, without refinements on the one hand or distortion on the other. For editors cannot be taught that their tawdry ornaments but mar the bare beauty of nature, which alone defies all changes of fashion, and circumstance, and time itself. Dr. von Wlislocki is such a heaven-born editor as the unhappy science of comparative folk-tales is but seldom blessed with, and students will quickly recognise the unusual value of his work. One editorial principle of his we commend to the ingenious ladies and gentlemen who are so busy to trick out the sincere stories that they find amongst a primitive people—he has adopted no story as a genuine folk-tale without taking it from the lips of two persons, at different places, and at different times. The original Gypsy text Dr. von Wlislocki hopes to print at a future date, having had to omit it from the present work from considerations of space. From the same necessity he has had to hold back in the meantime his comparative notes. These the student will hope to see at some future day; in the meantime, if he has the root of the matter in him, he will set to work eagerly to discover parallels for himself. It would have been pleasant to descant on the contents of these delightful stories, but space compels us reluctantly to make continuation in private only of our study of one of the most interesting and important of recent contributions to folk-lore THOMAS DAVIDSON.

The *Orientalische Bibliographie* (1890, iv. 163) supplies the following references:—"Die Zigeuner," *Ausland* 31 (pp. 615-20), 32 (pp.

621-5), 33 (pp. 652-7), 34 (pp. 673-6), and 36 (pp. 710-14), a series of articles by Prof. Guido Cora; Schwicker's "Unter Zigeunern," *Allgemeine Zeitung* 229, 230, and "Beilage" 192, 193; and Dr. von Wlislocki's paper on "Zigeunertaufe in Nordungarn," *Am Ur-Quell.* ii. 1.

The *Anzeiger der Gesellschaft für die Völkerkunde Ungarns* (Buda-Pest, January 1890), is No. 1 of a new folk-lore journal, edited by Professors Anton Herrmann and Ludwig Katona. It opens well, with a greeting from our own president, Mr. C. G. Leland; and being published in German, it will be highly welcome to all students to whom its Magyar elder sister, *Ethnographia,* has been a sealed book.

The *Standard* for Thursday, Jan. 15, 1891, had a long leader on the two George Smiths—him of Coalville, and his namesake the "King of the Gypsies." It was by no means wholly on Coalvillian lines.

We regret deeply to have to announce the death, on the 7th of March 1891, of Dr. Franz von Miklosich. Our next number will contain a full obituary notice of this distinguished member of our Society, with a portrait.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

I.

Was John Bunyan a Gypsy?

The question has often been discussed, by no one more fully and earnestly than by Mr. James Simson of New York, editor of *Simson's History of the Gypsies*, and author of several pamphlets dealing with the Gypsies. In an encyclopædia article, written twelve years ago, I myself said that "Bunyan, to judge from parish registers, does not appear to have had one drop of Gypsy blood"; and Mr. Simson took me severely to task for this "amazing lack of judgment (to say the least of it)." Mr. Simson seems inclined to cherish dark suspicions, but I can assure him that, like every true lover of the Romany race, I should be heartily glad to see Bunyan *proved* a Gypsy. I do not think that has been done yet; but here is a fresh link in the chain of evidence: "In the St. Mary Magdalene's, Launceston, parish register (vol. i. fol. 74) is this entry in 1586:—'Marche. The ivth daie was christened Nicholas, sonne of James Bownia, an Egiptia rogue.'" So "R." informs us in *Notes and Queries* for 24th January 1891, p. 67; but both he and the editor have failed to notice a point of exceeding interest. "Egiptia" [? "*Egiptiā*"] is evidently "Egiptian": is "Bownia," then, for "Bownian," and if so, have we here a veritable Gypsy Bunyan? It may seem a far cry from Launceston in Cornwall to Elstow in Bedfordshire, were nomads not in the case; in time, the interval between the baptism and the birth of the "inspired tinker" is but forty-two years. Mr. Simson's chief opponent has been the

Rev. John Brown of Bedford, who, in his *Life of Bunyan* (1885), as well as in the article "Bunyan" in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, contends that Bunyan cannot have been a Gypsy, because "Bonyons" had been settled in Bedfordshire since 1199, if not earlier. Against this it may be urged that Bosvile is an old and honourable Yorkshire name; and yet the Charles Bosvile, buried in 1709 at Rossington, near Doncaster, was beyond question a Gypsy potentate (*cf.* my *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 110). Or to take a more modern instance, Phœbe Buckland, a thorough Gypsy, married some fifty years ago a Wiltshire countryman of the name of Bunce, who became a tent-dweller, and by whom she had several children. Many, perhaps most, of their sons have married Gypsies of more or less purity, so that the Bunces of to-day are a pretty large Gypsy tribe. One of them is a farmer and horse-dealer, living in a house of his own at Pewsey in Wiltshire. Now, should one of his children or grandchildren rise to celebrity, he could not, by Mr. Brown's argument, be called a Gypsy, because, forsooth! the Bunces are an old Wiltshire family. That Bunyan was a Gypsy, I am not yet prepared to affirm; but that he was not one has assuredly not been proved. It is interesting to remember that in 1567 two "Egyptics" were baptized at Bedford (*In Gypsy Tents*, p. 113, note).

F. H. GROOME.

2.

LETTER FROM A ROMANI KRALLIS.

In the *Wiener Presse* of November 22d, 1890, appeared the following interesting letter:—

"Emil Reijbula, čibalo romano,
Kis-Remplán.

Alcsúthate 1890/17/10.

"Mro lacho čibalo-romano! Avel mange tro ljil 24/star. Diavanigyom te du dzanes te chinee romanes, the bichavav tuke més romano čibakero siklyi čibe the des roponen pro tro chavorenge. Ketyi san tumen romén andre tre gaveste? Sa keren jon? Keren butja? Andre ketji khereste bésen jon? Vakheren savore romanes? O baro lacho Dél dela tuke the tri romnjake, the tre chavenge zorele sastipnè bare bachta, the but miste divesen. JOZSEF UPRUTNO HERZOG."

I subjoin a translation thereof:—

"My dear Gypsy-judge,—I have received your letter of 24th August (?). And as you know to read Romanes, I send you my book of the Romani speech for the instruction of your children. How many are your Gypsies in your town? What do they do? Do they work much? Into how many houses do they live? Do they all talk Romanes? The great good God give thee and thy wife, and thy children vigorous health, much fortune, and many happy days. ARCHDUKE JOSEF."

J. PINCHERLE.

3.

NOTES ON THE ROUMANIAN GYPSIES.

The following account is extracted from a letter written to one of our members by a Scotch lady resident in Bucharest:—

". . . Certainly, for the purpose of studying the people one could not choose a better land than Roumania. The Tsiganes form the most interesting part of the inhabitants of the country, and are everywhere recognisable by their swarthy complexion, magnificent eyes and teeth, and their great love for music.

"All the wandering musicians belong to that race, and in general possess great musical talent; they play the violin and a sort of bag-pipe, from which they draw forth sounds almost as awful as those of our national instrument.[1] They have

[1] Compare the remarks on this subject in our number of January (1891), pages 275-7.

another instrument, of most peculiar construction ; it is made of a piece of wood, with strings like those of a violin stretched across it, and they play it with two sticks. As both hands are required for this purpose, they sling the instrument, called cymbals, round their neck by means of a leather strap, in the same way as the station newsboys at home carry their book-trays. They also play the guitar and Pan's flute, a most comical-looking instrument. So equipped, they exercise their profession at all fairs, and before the doors of taverns, etc.

"They are also employed for building houses, and the whole band camp amongst the bricks and lime. The women do the greater part of the labour, to my mind ; all the heavy work of mounting the lime and bricks on to the scaffolding falls to their share—and a most dangerous occupation it is, but they are so agile there seems to be no accidents. It is most amusing to see the children, who have the appearance of regular Arabs, playing about in the street, in a state of nature in summer, and in winter lost to view in a sheepskin, and a cap of the same material (resembling in shape a Kilmarnock nightcap) drawn over their ears.

"These little urchins are the most inveterate beggars I ever came across, and mites of four or five years old will wail out the most pitiful tales on the chance of getting five centimes.

"Some of the women are very handsome. I saw one to-day with a regular Egyptian type of face ; she would have made a splendid model for an artist. In the evening, when their work is over, they sit crouched round a fire, as the evenings are getting chilly now [October], and it is a most picturesque sight to catch a glimpse of their swarthy faces lit up by the firelight.

"They are by no means a peaceable race, and wherever they are there is sure to be some fighting. They do not stop to waste many words ; knives are quickly produced, and put an end to the argument on one side or the other. A wedding party passed here the other day—there was quite a band of them, with music. There is a tavern on the other side of the road, so they stopped for refreshment, and in the interval amused themselves by performing the national dance. I cannot say I care for it ; it is too slow for my taste. A dozen or so dance in a circle ; they pass their arms round each other's shoulders,—rather a difficult position to go through a series of steps gracefully. In spite of that, I have seen them continue for an hour without stopping a single moment.

"The funerals are still more curious than the weddings, however. Last week, we were taking our usual walk, when we met a funeral procession. First of all came the musicians, with the priests, then a crowd of children ; all making as much noise as possible. Then came two men carrying a small fir-tree, decorated with paper-flowers and candles, that and a large trunk forming the most important items of the trousseau of a young girl. The coffin was carried on the shoulders of eight men, and, as is the custom here, was open to allow the body to be seen, which was in full national costume, with a wreath of flowers in the hair. Wonderful to relate, the girl was blonde ; quite an exception to the usual Gypsy type. When the coffin was lowered into the grave, the whole band set up a wail of despair enough to make one's blood curdle. It gave me a most literal insight into the biblical expression, 'wailing and gnashing of teeth' ; and I have no ambition to witness such a ceremony a second time. After it was over, they all halted at the nearest tavern, and 'went on the spree,' as we say in the Highlands. I suppose they would dance till all hours of the morning.

"I think the music of their national dances resembles our Highland music very much ; I always feel inclined to start a reel when I see them dancing—it is exactly the right time for a reel.

"If possible I shall try to pick up some photos of Gypsies, and send you them, to let you have an idea of their appearance. I must say I have never seen a plain-looking Gypsy ; they have all fine regular features, and some of them are really beautiful."

4.

Gypsies and Church Discipline.

In the *Journal* of October 1890 there was printed a note upon Matthew Baillie, a Gypsy, who in the latter half of the last century applied to the minister of the parish of Biggar for admission to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It is interesting to be able to point to a much earlier instance of a Scottish Gypsy who was subjected to Church discipline. In the ***Register of St Andrews Kirk-Session***, of which the second part (1582-1600) has recently been issued by the Scottish History Society, I find the following entry (p. 887):—"Wedinsday, the xxv of Aprile, 1599. The quhilk day, Ninian Mauchane, Malcolme Millar, Thomas Andersoun, Androw Chaplane kard, and Adame Broun, for vagand [strolling about] in tyme of sermone on the Sabath day, ar ordinit be the magistratis to be wardit thrie houris; and, if thai be fund in that faut heireftir, to be censurit and punished with all rigour." The entry has the marginal note, "Broun and his colligis admonist."

A footnote (p. 887) explains "kard" as "A gipsy, travelling tinker, or sturdy beggar."

Archibald Constable.

5.

An English Fair alleged to date from the Arrival of the Gypsies.

A correspondent sends us the following note:—"*Stow Green Fair*, a horse fair, and so-called 'pleasure' fair, held on the first Thursday and Friday in July, in a green field away from any village, but not far from Folkingham, six or seven miles south of Sleaford, in Lincolnshire. Its origin is traditionally assigned to the Gypsies; the saying is 'It came with the Gypsies, and will go with the Gypsies.' Is anything really known about its origin? Is there any fact underlying the tradition?"

In reply thereto, we are able to state that in Turner's *Notitia* mention is made of a charter granted in the fifty-second year of the reign of Henry III. to the monastery of Sempringham, authorising a fair to be held at this place (Stow Green). As this charter is of the thirteenth century, it will be observed that it does not corroborate the local tradition, unless the arrival of the Gypsies in England ought to be placed in the thirteenth century.

6.

The Gypsy in the Moon.

In the first volume of our *Journal*, p. 376, Mr. Axon, translating from the French of Cazalis, informs us that—

"'Tis a Romany tale
That up in the moon
Each midnight a Gypsy
Is playing a tune."

Another version is given by Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss, who states[1] that "In Slavonia the man in the moon is a Gypsy blacksmith, with hammer and tongs in his hands, and his anvil by his side. Were he not there, the moon would be as warm and bright as the sun."

7.

A Gentlemanly Gypsy.

What a pity it is that all law-breakers do not possess the accommodating disposition of William Sparks, a Yeovil Gypsy. That roving Romany allowed three

[1] According to the review of his book, *Volksglaube und Religiöser Brauch der Südslaven*, in the columns of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. iii. No. xi. p. 320.

horses to stray on the highway, and they were promptly impounded. Sparks paid the pound fee, and, calling on Superintendent Durham, explained that he had "come to give him a chance of summonsing him," expressed regret that a business engagement would prevent him attending the Police Court on Saturday, and said he would leave half a sovereign, and the Superintendent could "help himself to whatever the beaks clapped on, and send on the change." As "Seven shillings, including costs," was the magisterial order, the gentlemanly Gypsy has had a postal order for three shillings sent back to him.—(From the *Western Morning News*, Devonshire, 22d September 1890.)

8.

NOTES ON DR. KOPERNICKI'S GYPSY TALES.

(a) *The Golden Hen and her Golden Chickens.*

It is stated by Dr. M. Gaster (*Archæological Review*, London, August 1889, p. 51) that the popular Roumanian name for the Pleiades is "The golden hen with her golden chickens." The readers of our *Journal* will remember that in the "Tale of a Wise Young Jew and a Golden Hen," contributed by Dr. Kopernicki to our number of April 1889, the young Jew goes to a goldsmith "who was a great wizard," and orders him to make for him a golden hen with her chickens, all having eyes of diamonds, with the stipulation that they (or she) should be *alive*. This being done, the young Jew takes up his place in the public street, beside a table on which he has set his golden hen and her golden chickens, and a great crowd gathers to watch their movements. Finally, they are given to the princess and the last we hear of them is where the princess, after dinner, "was amusing herself with the hen and its young golden chickens."

In this account, which cannot be accepted seriously in its literal sense, ought we to see the distorted version of a real event, the exhibition by some itinerant showman of a *planetarium* of the Pleiades,—"the golden hen and her golden chickens"? The Gypsies have been equally famous as astrologers and artificers, and until recent years itinerant exhibitors of *planetaria*, though not necessarily Gypsies, were probably found in all European countries; certainly in some. If this solution of the otherwise impossible story be found too far-fetched, it at any rate seems the most natural one.

(b) *The Girl who was sold to the Devil.*[1]

Among several variants of this tale is one entitled "The Weaver's Son and the Giant of the White Hill," which is included in Mr. Curtin's *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland.*[2] The "devils" of the Polish tale are "giants" in the Irish version, and there are several other points of difference; but undoubtedly the two are merely variants of one story. DAVID MACRITCHIE.

9.

"WESTERIOUSNESS."

Here are one or two Gypsy sayings that should not be let die:—"There's two class o' Gypsies: and us, the better class, is high-minded, upstart, consequential people. Is that so, Mr. G——?" Thus Lazarus P—— remarked to me the other night; and another of his utterances, lamenting the effects of a late illness, ran thus: "My people ain't confīdous in me, what they used to. They won't put no hearkenings in me. I tell 'em they're like the Children of Israel at the building of the Tower of Babylon" (he looked at me hard, to see if I duly appreciated his

[1] *Gyp. Lore Soc. Jour.* i. 145-150.

[2] Little, Brown, & Co., Boston, U.S.; Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, London.

Biblical lore)—"that time, I means, when they had the gift o' tongues give them." It was of this same Lazarus that one of his daughters said: "My father have growed that Westerious lately—you knowed old Wester, didn't you, Mr. G——?" It is easy laughing at these Gypsy utterances. I would never record them did I think they would come back to either father or daughter, for both of whom I have an unfeigned liking. She, Alice P——, told me simply and unaffectedly, not seeing there was anything in it, a story of such heroism and devotion, on her own and her mother's part, as scarce may be matched even by Charles Lamb's tenderness to his sister Mary. Four or five years ago Mr. P—— showed signs of derangement; his wife and daughter called in several doctors, and one and all declared that he must be placed in an asylum, that he was not safe, but any night might rise out of his sleep and kill his wife or his daughter. "So," said Alice, "me and mother we talked it over, and we said, 'It'll be better for him to kill us than for us to kill him, as we should if we put him in the 'sylum.' So we didn't have no more doctors, but just tended him ourselves, and now, thank the Lord, he's as right as ever he was. But many's the night I've laid awake trembling." G.

10.

Gypsy Ceremonial Purity.

I was talking the other day with a middle-aged English Gypsy, one of the Smith family, and he said: "I can cook anything plain as well as most women; but then, of course, I've had lots of practice, being, as I'm, the father of eight children." "How so?" I asked. And he answered, "Why, every time the old woman was *chiv'd* to *wúddrus* (brought to bed), I had to do everything for a month afterwards, that's our way. She has her own cup and saucer and plate; and when the month's up, we break 'em. It's going out now, but the real old-fashioned Gypsies they'd make her wear gloves even after the month was up, and, of course, she mightn't touch dough for a whole year afterwards."

I remember once reading an account of similar observances amongst continental Gypsies in a German book by (I think) a Professor Liebich, but I have not it by me to refer to. Can any one of the members of our Society furnish the passage in question? For the subject seems to me one of very high interest, and worthy of close investigation. On another occasion this same Gypsy informed me that if any plate or dish, or even copper vessel, were licked by a dog, the older Gypsies would invariably destroy it.

To him, too, I owe a curious instance of the use of ordeal in England in the nineteenth century. He had a fight with the member of another tribe, and, before setting to, had pulled off his coat and waistcoat and flung them on the ground. In the waistcoat pocket was a silver watch, and on coming back after the fight was over he found that the watch was gone. "There was a lot of Gypsies about," he continued, "but I guessed in my own mind which on 'em had took it. Still I never said nothing, only just called 'em all together, and then I told 'em, 'One of you has got my watch, but I won't never say a word more about it if you'll just all do one thing I ask you.' They said they would, so I goes to the wagon and fetches my dead mother's Bible. 'Now,' I says, 'every jack man of you kiss the book, and say wish he may drop dead if ever he touched Plato's watch.' They did, all down to one man, and he was the fellow I 'spected. 'No,' he says, 'I shan't kiss no book for no man.' I held up my hand, and 'That'll do,' I says, 'I shan't say nothing to you, but never you say nothing to me or mine, and, mark my words, you'll never have no luck after this.' No more he didn't, though he's living now—I see him the tother day at Blankston Fair." That in this method of ordeal there was anything distinctively Romany I do not assert, but it is at least worth making a note of. Kairéngo.

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The Second International Folk-Lore Congress will be held in London on October 1st, 1891, and following days, under the presidency of Mr. Andrew Lang. The subscription (10s. 6d.), entitling to a card of membership, should be sent to the Hon. Sec.,

J. FOSTER, Esq.,
Offa House, Upper Tooting,
London, S.W.

In connection with this Congress it is proposed to have a dinner of members of the Gypsy Lore Society, the exact date and place to be intimated in our next number.

NOTICE.—As the earlier numbers of the JOURNAL *are now very scarce—of No.* 1, *in fact, there being no more than two copies remaining—it has been found necessary to increase the price of Vol. I. to £2. The price of No.* 1 *of Vol. II., which contains the facsimile of Callot's "Bohemians" is 7s. 6d. to Non-Members.*

The Third Volume of the Journal will commence with the July Number 1891. *With that number Members will receive the Index, Title-Page, and Errata of the Second Volume.*

Members are reminded that their Subscriptions for the year 1891-92 *are now payable.*

All Contributions must be legibly written on one side only of the paper, must bear the sender's name and address, though not necessarily for publication, and must be sent to D. MACRITCHIE, Esq., 4 Archibald Pl., Edinburgh.

INDEX.

The separate articles are printed in italics under their author's name.
G.=Gypsy; and Gs.=Gypsies.

ABERCROMBY, HON. JOHN, *The First Mention of Gs. in Finland*, 73.
Africa, G. Acrobats in Ancient, 193, 288.
African Gs., 120.
Allan, James, a G. Piper, 266.
America, Scottish Gs. transported to, 60, 361, 362.
American Gs., 117.
Amulets, G., 171, 190.
Asiatic Gs., 93, 161.
Athingani, 132.
Atlas, Mount, 197.
Autobiography of a G., by F. W. Carew (reviewed), 315.
Axon, Wm. E. A., *Romany Songs Englished*, 5.

BAGPIPE, G., 127, 266, 376.
Baptism, G., 378.
Baillie, Matthew, 254.
Barbu-Constantinescu, Dr., Folk-tales, 142.
Basque Gs., 63.
Barbadoes, Gs. transported to, 61.
Bataillard, Paul, *The Immigration of the Gs.*, 27, 315.
Bibliography, G., 79.
Births, G. Customs connected with, 382.
Bohemia, Gs. of North-Western, by Professor von Sowa, 138.
Boswell, Sylvester, death of, 191.
Bu Bacchar, *G. Acrobats in Ancient Africa*, 193, 288.
Bunyan, John, Was he a G.? 378.
Burial, G., 379.
Burton, Sir Richard, obituary, 317.
—— —— *Episode from the Life of*, by Lady Burton, 365.

CAIN, Race of, and the Modern G., 62.
Callot's "Bohemians," 7.
Carniola, Gs. of, 286.
Carnoy, M. Henry, on Gs. of Constantinople, 58.
Cassillis, Lady, and Johnnie Faw, 84, 358.
Carrion eaten by Gs., 227.
Ceremonial Purity, 382.
Charms and Incantations, 126, 163, 221.
Church, G., 154.
—— Discipline and Gs., 380.
Colours, G., 60.
Complexion, G., 139.
Constable, A. Henry, on Scottish Gs. in the 17th century, 64.
Constantinople, Gs. of, 58.
Creenie, name, 220.
Crimean Gs., 74.
Crofton's, H. T., *Crimean Gs.*, 74.

DANCES, G., 379.
Davidson, Thomas, two Reviews of Leland and Wlislocki by, 367.
Dowojno-Sylwestrowicz, *The Lithuanian Gs.*, 107.
Dress, G., 11, 60, 78, 108.
Duffield, A. J., *The Will of Maladros*, 253.
Dutch Gs., 129.

EGGELING, Prof. Julius, *Groome's Article, Gs., in Chambers's Encyclopædia*, 186.
—— —— *Von Sowa on Slovak G. Dialect*, 245.
Egypt and the Gs., 138, 149, 193.
Elysseeff, Dr. A., *Kounavine's Materials for the Study of the Gs.*, 93, 161.
English Gs., 2, 80, 252, 256.
Eye, G., 365.

FAST AND LOOSE, 335.
Faw, Johnnie, 358.
Finnish Gs., 72.
Flemish Slang, 249.
Folk-tales, G., Asiatic, 99.
—— Hungarian, 65.
—— Polish, 277, 327, 381.
—— Roumanian, 142.
—— Scottish, 320.
—— Slovak, 53, 323.

Fortune-telling, 108, 123, 130, 252, 313, 316, 366.
France, Expulsion of Gs. from, 119.
Fugger, Messrs., and Gs., 316.
Funerals, G., 379.

GAIDOZ, M. HENRI, on Expulsion of Gs. from France, 119.
German Gs., 23.
Goeje, Prof. M. J. de, *The Heidens of the Netherlands*, 129.
Greek Empire, Arrival of Gs. in, 132.
Groome, F. H., on Gs. in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, 186.
—— —— *Persian and Syrian Gs.*, 21.
—— —— *The Vampire; A Roumanian-G. Folk-tale*, 142.
—— —— on Transportation of Scottish Gs. to America, 60, 62.
—— —— Lecture by (reviewed), 313.
—— —— Bunyan, Was he a G? 378.

HEIDENS, The, of the Netherlands, 34, 38, 129.
Heroism, G., 382.
Highland Tinkers, 319.
Horoscope, G., 366.
Horse-dealers, Early G., 116.
Hungarian Gs., 56, 116, 120, 148, 374.

IBBETSON, Mr. W. J., obituary, 57.
Illiteracy, G., 139.
Immigration of the Gs. into Western Europe, 27.
Improvisation, G., 87.
Incantations, G., 126, 163, 221.
Indian Gs., 17, 316.
Irish Tinkers and their Language. *See* Shelta.
Italian Gs., 122.

JATS and Gs., 131.
Jews and Lithuanian Gs., 107.
Josef, the Archduke, G. Grammar by, abstract of, 148.
—— —— Romani Letter by, 378.

KENITES and Modern Gs., 62.
Kettle-prop, 14.
Kindly tenants, 177.
Kirk-Yetholm Gs., 175.
Kopernicki, Prof. Isidore, *Polish-G. Folk-tales*, 277, 327, 381.
Koppen, W., *Crimean Gs.*, 75.
Kornel de Zielinski, Vladislav, *G. Anecdotes from Hungary*, 65.
—— —— *Notes on Gs. of Poland and Lithuania*, 238.
—— —— *Notes on Gs. of Russia*, 363.
Kounavine, Michael Ivanovitch, *Materials for the Study of the Gs.*, 93, 161.

LANGUAGE, G., 130, 137, 168, 187.
—— —— African, 199.
Language, G., Bohemian, 140.
—— —— Crimean, 76.
—— —— English, 2, 315.
—— —— Slovak, 110, 181, 240, 245, 307.
Leland, C. G., *An Italian G. Song*, 320.
—— —— Shelta, 321.
—— —— Slang Dictionary (reviewed), 250.
—— —— *G. Sorcery and Fortune-telling* (reviewed), 367.
Linguistic powers of Gs., 133.
Lithuanian Gs., 107, 237.
Lochmaben, Kindly Tenants of, 177.
Love-charms, 221.
Luris, language of, 120.

MACRITCHIE, DAVID, *Callot's "Bohemians,"* 7.
—— —— on G. Colours, 60.
—— —— on the Kenites, 63.
—— —— *Scottish Gs. under the Stewarts*, 173, 229, 291, 334.
Maladros, Will of, 253.
Marocco and Gs., 201.
Marriage, G., at Constantinople, 59.
Marriage, G., by Queen's Chaplain, 256.
Marshall, Will, 357.
Masons, G., in Roumania, 379.
Members, List of New, 383.
Meyer, Prof. Kuno, *On the Irish Origin and the Age of Shelta*, 257.
Moon, G. Man in, 380.
Moravian Gs., 226.
Morris-dances, 232, 291.
Moscow Gs., 124.
Music, G., 81, 124, 126, 151, 266, 378.
Mythology, G., 100, 169.

NAMES, Family, G., 61, 122, 226, 286, 365.
Netherlands, The Heidens of, by Prof. de Goeje, 129.
Neubauer, A., on the Kenites, 62.
Northumbrian Tinker, 256.
Nutts, The, and their Language, 17.

PALESTINE, Travelling Tinkers in Ancient, 62.
Pennell, Elizabeth Robins, *A G. Piper*, 266.
Persian Gs., 21.
Pincherle, J., on Italian Gs., 122.
Piper, A G., 266.
Planetarium, 381.
Polish Gs., 237.
Polish G. Folk-tales, 277, 327, 381.
Proverbs, G., 166, 238.
Puppet-show, G., 22.
Purity, G. Ceremonial, 382.

RANKING, Dr. D. FEARON, on a Family of Shelta and Romani-speaking Highland Tinkers, 319.

Ranking, Surgeon-Major G., *The Nutts and their Language*, 17.
Religion of Gs., 77, 99, 133.
Romanno, G. Fray at, 357.
Roumanian Gs., 378.
Russian Gs., 124, 363.

SAMPSON, JOHN, *A Contribution to English G.*, 2.
—— —— *English G. Songs and Rhymes*, 80.
—— —— *Tinkers and their Talk*, 204.
Sayce, Prof. A. H., on Kenites and Modern Gs., 62.
Scottish Gs. under the Stewarts, by D. MacRitchie, 173, 229, 291, 334.
—— in the 17th century, 64.
—— transported to America, 60.
—— A Chequered Character, 254.
—— in Argyllshire, 319.
Shelta, the Tinkers' Talk, 121, 127, 204, 257, 319, 321.
Slang, 56, 249, 250.
Slaves, G., 132, 341.
Slovak Gs. *See* Sowa.
Smith, Mr. George, of Coalville, 191.
Solario, Antonio, 159.
Songs, G., 5, 56, 80, 161, 191, 374.
Sowa, Prof. Rudolf von, *Notes on the Gs. of North-Western Bohemia*, 138.
—— —— *Notes on the Gs. of South-Eastern Moravia*, 226.
—— —— *Statistical Account of the Gs. in Carniola*, 286.
—— —— O Dui Tovarisha: a Slovak-G. Tale, 53.
—— —— O Phúro Sasos: a Slovak-G. Tale, 323.
Sowa, Prof. Rudolf von, *Slovak-G. Vocabulary*, 110, 181, 240, 245, 307.
Spanish Gs., 117, 120, 192, 253.
Spells, G., 163.
Stow Green Fair, 380.
Swan-maidens, 327.
Swedish Gs., 73.
Swiss Nomads, 64.
Syrian Gs., 21.

TATARS, 196.
Tents, G., 49, 227.
Thewrewk de Ponor, Dr. E., *Abstract of the Archduke Josef's G. Grammar*, 148.
Tinkler, Name, 173.
Transylvanian Gs., 56, 189, 221, 374.

VAMPIRE, The, 142.

WATTS, THEODORE, *A G. Child's Christmas: a Sonnet*, 1.
Walter de Peyster, *G.: Some Curious Investigations*, etc. (reviewed), 316.
"Westeriousness," 381.
West Indies, Gs. transported to, 60.
Wigtownshire Creenies, 220.
Wilson, G. Alick, on Shelta, 121.
Wlislocki, Dr. H. von, on Transylvanian Gs. (reviewed), 189.
—— —— *Love Forecasts and Charms among the Tent Gs. of Transylvania*, 221.
—— —— *Volksdichtungen der Siebenbürgischen Zigeuner* (reviewed), 374.

YETHOLM Gs., 175.

ERRATA.

PAGE
54, line 21. For "*sonnakune*," read "*sovnakune*."
56, line 14. For "hints," read "hits."
68, 69, 70. For "*pushta*," read "*pūsta*."
93. For "M. J. Kounavine," read "M. I. Kounavine."
108, 2nd line from foot. For "*kantshu*," read "*kantshuk*."
139, 8th line from foot. For "*mang*," read "*mange*."
307, 22nd line from foot (col. *b*). For "*dru*," read "*druho*."
312, line 29*b*. For "*run*," read "*ruv*."
312, 5th line from foot (col. *b*). For "*strat*," read "*strast*."

M. Bataillard's "Immigration of the Gypsies," Vols. I. and II.:—

Vol. I.—

Page 189, line 5 of note 1. For "de bronze," read "du bronze."
261, last line. For "Ederbach," read "Eberbach."
341, line 1 of note 1. For "aqum," read "quam."
371, line 1. For "a French version," read "a French analysis."

Vol. II.—

From page 33 to page 37 (in "Immigration of the Gypsies") some rectifications of dates are necessary, which necessitate the transposition of certain facts, as the author has explained in a *résumé* of his study presented to the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* under this title: *Les débuts de l'immigration des Tsiganes . . . Résumé suivi d'explications chronologiques.* See *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie*, session of 3rd April 1890, pp. 308-313, or tirage à part, pp. 21-26.

Page 52, line 18. For "of his address," read "to his address."

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